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AGATHE THORNTON

THE LIVING UNIVERSE

Gods and Men in Virgil's Aeneid

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXVI

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GODS AND MEN IN VIRGIL'S AENEID

BY

AGATHE THORNTON

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PREFACE

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness, which goes far beyond specific references, to the following scholars: Boyancé, Perret on 'polytheism', Heinze, Pöschl, and Otis.

To two former colleagues of mine, Professor J. R. Hamilton (now at the University of Auckland) and Mr I. M. Lonie, and to my present colleague Dr. A. F. Stewart, I should like to express my warmest gratitude for their interest and help, also to Miss Swift of the Reference Department of the University of Otago Library, and not least to the Council of the University of Otago for several grants which enabled me to buy the literature I needed.

I thank the Editors of *Prudentia* for permission to include two papers (the second one altered), published in *Prudentia* 1, no. 1 (1969) and 3, no. 2 (1971) and the Editor of *AULLA XIV, Proceedings and Papers* (1972) to include a paper published in those Proceedings.

C. Day Lewis's translation is used for longer passages, often consulted and partly used for shorter ones.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to my husband for his interest and his encouragement.

INTRODUCTION

Boyancé has described Virgil's intense interest in the cosmos, as it is manifest in the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics*, and the *Aeneid*,[1] and he wonders whether he ever intended to write a cosmic poem himself and perhaps died before he could do so. He suggests that what he would have done, being Virgil, is already contained in his works if seen together as a whole. I believe that this is true, but, more than that, I believe that Virgil has written his 'cosmic poem' and that this poem is the *Aeneid*. While as a young man Virgil's interest in the causes of things[2] might have been directed to 'atomic explanation', as he found them in Lucretius, in his maturity he places a song about such matters in the mouth of the bard Iopas at Queen Dido's banquet at Carthage.[3] But when Anchises says to Aenas in the Underworld (6.849–50): 'Others will mark out the paths of the sky and tell the rising of the stars,' he wants his 'Roman' man to leave this sort of thing to the Greeks: the achievement of Rome lies in governing the people in peace and in war. I believe that this was Virgil's own point of view. The philosophy to which he longed to devote himself after finishing the *Aeneid* would not have been the atomism of Epicurus but the philosophy which is inherent in the *Aeneid* itself, a philosophy concerned with human history and ethics in relation to the divine world, part of which they are.

The aim of this book is to show the coherence of the universe[4] in the *Aeneid* which is determined by the gods: its coherence in structure which is at the same time physical, moral, and religious; and its coherence in the movement of this living community of gods, men, and everything else from discord to war and from war to peace, the prime movers being Juno and Jupiter. The power that ultimately binds together the manifold of this cosmos is Jupiter pervading the whole as the 'cosmic god' or ruling the whole as the 'supreme god'. This coherence is not rigidly systematic or logically flawless, but with all its paradoxes it has the good sense which one of the greatest hard-thinking poets could make of what he encountered in life.

But before an attempt can be made to show anything of this sort, it will be necessary to describe the views of the Romans in the first century B.C. on two subjects important for the *Aeneid:* first, on Homer, master of epic poetry, and how to read him, since the Homeric epics are the model for the *Aeneid;* secondly, on the universe and the gods, and on life after death in this universe. Some of these views are very strange to us and, unless we approach them with imagination and much patience, our twentieth century outlook is liable to interfere with and distort our interpretation of Virgil's poem. Such views are all the more important as Virgil was not, I believe, a highly 'original' mind in the sense that he created great novel ideas. The power of his genius was the power to absorb all the deepest and most constructive ideas of his age and to mould them into a tremendous synthesis.

The Graeco-Roman world of the gods, in particular, is difficult for us to take seriously and understand. The German poet Schiller, in his song 'The Gods of Greece',[5] has lamented the departure of the gods from the earth. The sun, today a 'fiery ball', was before their departure the god Helios directing his golden chariot. Nymphs lived on the hills and in every tree; and every stream took its rise from the urn of a nymph. As the ancient philosopher Thales said in the 6th century B.C.: 'all things are full of gods.' The change in man's attitude to nature which Schiller mourns has determined our own modern view of nature. To us the great masses of nature, like earth, mountains, sea, the air, the sun, moon, and stars are all inanimate, and subject to laws explored by physics; even plants and trees are, in our eyes, barely animate. This is completely different from the feeling and attitude of most ancient Greeks or Romans. Our own attitude, it is true, originates, in the last resort, from an ancient Greek philosopher, and the Roman poet Lucretius, who celebrated and sought to teach the 'atomic' theory of Epicurus. But this viewpoint did not prevail. It took much more than that to drive out the ancient multitude of divine beings from all the parts of nature.

Therefore, when we approach the work of an ancient Roman poet, like the *Aeneid* of Virgil, in which the gods play a considerable part we are likely to judge from our twentieth century point of view—unless we take steps to counteract this; and that is not at all easy to do. If Virgil had written a philosophical treatise, it might be difficult enough. But, being a poet, he has moulded his ideas in the forms of myth. Myth is notoriously hard to interpret. But what chances have we of interpreting Virgil's myth aright, if the world to which his myth points is utterly strange and even perhaps grotesque to our minds? We are not likely to penetrate beyond the obvious. Even this is, in Virgil's case, satisfying and very beautiful. But it is not the whole story, if indeed it is possible for us to understand this poem completely. But we can surely understand it better than we do.

Part I then deals, first, with the Greek and Roman attitude to Homer who was the great teacher of religion and ethics in the ancient world, and secondly, with the picture of the universe which might be held by an educated Roman in the first century B.C. As far as possible these ideas are demonstrated from sources belonging to the first century B.C. or of such a kind that they make the existence of these ideas in the first century likely.

In Part II, the very concise account of the structure of the universe given by the spirit of Anchises in Book 6 is, first, described in detail. The relevance of this account to the *Aeneid* as a whole becomes apparent when, secondly, the spheres upon spheres of beings are displayed who live throughout the universe from its dark evil depth to its pure bright summit.

In Part III, this cosmos is shown to revolve both in space and in time, according to a 'cyclic' notion of temporality. Its movement is described, as it progresses from phase to phase in the action of the epic, each phase being characteristically permeated by the spirit of two or more divine beings, while no part is completely out of connection with Jupiter 'whose power in the universe is supreme' (*rerum cui prima potestas* 10.100).

While this subject is very comprehensive, it must be emphatically stated that this book is not intended to be anything like a complete treatment of the *Aeneid.* It deals with the *Aeneid* as a whole, but only from *one,* if a major aspect. Although a great deal comes into it, all of it is believed to contribute to the description of the plot of the epic as determined by the actions of the gods or, to put it differently, to the description of the epic as a 'living, onward-moving Cosmos.' This means that the method of presentation will vary between straightforward outline and detailed interpretation at crucial points which are blurred by scholars' disputes. Small points of controversy will be dealt with in the notes.

Part I

THE SPIRIT OF THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

Chapter 1 Homer, Virgil's model, as the 'educator' of Greece and Rome

When Virgil opens his epic with the words 'I sing of war[1] and the man . . .' *(arma uirumque cano)* he indicates at once that his models for the *Aeneid* are the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* of Homer. Why did he choose these ancient epics for his model? They were remote in time; and no living literary tradition connected Virgil with Homer.[2] The answer has been sought in various ways.

According to Brooks Otis,[3] 'Virgil would never in the world have attempted a simple imitation of Homer. Others imitated: he reproduced. In other words, he deliberately used Homer for a reason and not at all out of a sense of rivalry or competitiveness.' He saw 'that Homer, though impossible to imitate, was supreme—indeed indispensable—as a source of symbols, a means of giving heroic connotation to contemporary reality.' By reproducing 'the Homeric ensemble of motifs', says Otis,[4] 'Rome could be raised to heroic dimensions while, on the other hand, the heroism of Homer could be amplified to Roman dimensions.' By such amplification and other even more far-reaching changes 'all sorts of new connotations could emerge—especially those that expressed the tragic contrast between primitive and civilised man and perhaps even more fundamentally the contrast between egoistic passion and its humane renunciation.'

According to Kenneth Quinn,[5] Virgil's choice of Homeric epic solved his artistic problem; and 'rivalry with Homer' became an important part of his poem. The point of this closeness to Homer was to create tension and so make the distance from Homer felt. Virgil 'exploited'[6] the form of Homeric epic in order to create something new, set off against the old by being poured into the old mould. The main burden of novelty lay in the 'problem of unthinking courage, the need to show that the standards of the Heroic Age are no longer applicable.'[7]

However differently Otis and Quinn express what they believe to be Virgil's aim in the *Aeneid*, it appears in the end in each case, to be a moral aim. This is true, but only in part, as I shall argue in the main body of this book. For human life without the gods, those great powers of the cosmos, ethics without religion are only half of Virgil's view of life. He wanted to express ethical values as well as religious beliefs in his *Aeneid* and these two were for him inseparable. In anticipation, let me say here that the Virgilian cosmos is a carefully articulated structure in which human action is set firmly into the hierarchy of divine forces which culminates in and is ultimately ruled by Jupiter. In this universe human life must of necessity make its way between good and evil and always in relation to the Divine. Therefore, Virgil was bound to seek a poetic form which would be a ready vehicle for conveying both his cosmic and religious conception of the world and the moral ideas which he felt to be adequate for his time, the two being ultimately not separable. Why did Virgil in view of such a goal choose Homeric epic as his medium? In order to discover the answer to this question, we must ask ourselves what Homer had meant to the Greeks first and then to the Romans in the past, and what he meant in the time of Virgil himself.

Plato says of Homer that he was the 'educator' of Greece.[8] Homer himself sang in order to 'delight' his audience.[9] But it is clear that he was also describing men of heroic stature who would be admired and deemed worthy of imitation. According to Marrou, Homer remained the educator of Greece down to Eustathius in the twelfth century A.D. and 'every cultivated Greek had a copy of Homer's works at his bedside as Alexander did during his campaigns.' Xenophon (*Symp.* 3.5), for instance, makes Niceratos say: 'My father wishing me to become an accomplished man made me learn the whole of Homer, so that even today I can still recite the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by heart.'

The admiration for Homer in Greece was tremendous, an admiration which became literally adoration when soon after 217 B.C. Ptolemy IV Philopator dedicated a temple to him in Alexandria: the *Homereion.*[10] In it a seated statue of Homer was surrounded by female figures representing all the cities that claimed him for their own. On the walls was a picture painted by Galaton of Homer himself spewing forth and the other poets drawing on what he had spewed forth. Similiar ideas are expressed by the contemporary marble relief representing Homer's deification *(apotheosis)* by Archelaos of Priene, found at Bovillae in Italy.[11] The relief rises up in three tiers. The lowest level is on earth. On the left Homer is seated with figures representing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* beside his throne. To the left behind him stand winged Time and the inhabited Earth, their faces being those of the Pharaoh and his wife, Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe II. They lift up a wreath to place on Homer's head thus expressing that the poet will be known everywhere and forever. In front of Homer is an altar at which the boy Myth and a woman History make sacrifices to the divine Homer. Behind History comes Poetry raising aloft two torches, then Tragedy and Comedy hailing the poet. To the right behind them is a little boy *Physis* (= Nature) looking up to four women *Arete, Mneme, Pistis,* and *Sophia* (Courage or Virtue, Memory (of the great past), Loyalty, Wisdom). L. Petersen has shown how these figures and their connections can be interpreted from Homer as understood about a century later in Strabo's *Geography* Book I. There the Homeric epics are taken to be a mixture of history and myth, their purpose being to educate men, particularly the young, to virtue and wisdom by remembering past greatness.[12] Here Homer is hailed as divine. as the source of all poetry, and as the educator of men. On the second level we see a separate figure on the right, probably the poet who dedicated the relief, and Apollo and the Muses rising up to the third level on which Zeus seated speaks to the leading Muse, or perhaps their mother, Memory. The whole is like a hymn to Homer, beginning with Zeus, Apollo, and the Muses, praising the poet's eternally living power on all the earth, and his achievements on behalf of mankind. Here, Homer is the divine bard, in fact a god, whose song is a revelation.

What was it that made Homer so vital to Greek life? Something more basic than literary excellence: the fact that Homer portrays great men and also great women. Homer was read and taught so intensively and over such a long period because he glorified the heroic type of life, values in living, an ethic which kept its lure however much it was later criticized.

What is the relevance of all this to Rome? When Tarentum in Southern Italy, last stronghold of Greece on Italian soil, surrendered to the Romans in 272 B.C., a Greek, Livius Andronicus, was taken captive and brought to Rome where he was first slave and then freedman of the Senator Lucius Livius after whom he was called. He was given the task of teaching his master's sons. He would, of course, teach them Greek and his main textbook would be Homer, as it was in Greece. But he also—and this was to become much more important—translated Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin. According to Marrou, he did this in order to supply a text of Homer in Latin for the purpose of teaching so that Roman national pride might be satisfied.[13] According to Grimal, who wishes to remove the *Odisia* from the 'pedantry' of the schoolroom, Livius 'wanted to make Rome the gift of a national epic in which the latent Hellenism of the city would come to expression in Latin form.'[14] The *Odisia* of Livius Andronicus certainly became and remained a school textbook down into the first century B.C. Horace remembers being beaten by his master, Orbilius, who dictated the text for the purpose of having it learned by heart.[15]

How did it come about that the *Odisia* remained a Roman textbook for such a long time in spite of the ruggedness of it which Horace criticizes?[16] The reason is that the ethic of Homer was very similar to the ethic of old Rome. Roman society was aristocratic like that of Homer, and both societies were intensely warlike. In consequence, their values were closely akin.

Let us first outline the main characteristics of Homeric heroism. The hero of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* was born of a noble line. What he was and strove to be was closely tied up with the nobility and excellence *(arete)* of his forebears and, particularly, his father. Genealogies as being the concrete and detailed exposition of a man's ancestors were of passionate concern to the Greeks.[17] A hero was usually introduced by his father's name in addition to his own name. There is a general emphasis on the family in the Odyssey. But most important is the relationship between father, son and son's son because they are the representatives of a noble line. Both Odysseus and Achilles enquire about their fathers and their sons in the underworld (Book 11), and Penelope speaks of Telemachus as the 'offspring' of Laertes, his grandfather, and of Odysseus, his father so that the royal line of Ithaca is represented by the old man, the man, and the young man.[18]

The ethic of these nobles was primarily an ethic of war, for war was their business whether they liked it or not. Odysseus, rejecting Agamemnon's suggestion to sail home from Troy, refers to himself and other Greeks when he says to Agamemnon that Zeus has appointed the accomplishing of wars 'from our youth even unto our old age, until we are dead, each of us.'[19] What is required in battle, of course, is the strength and skill of a warrior and his prowess. Sheer physical strength and the skill to use this strength with deadly precision are thought of as inseparable from the quality of character which is courage or valour.[20] Strength, skill, and prowess were the hero's means of attaining to the one great goal of his life, namely honour. In this, each hero acted for himself as an individual or at most for his noble lineage,[21] as when Odysseus warns Telemachus 'not to shame the race of us, the fathers, who have been famous for valour and manliness all over the earth.'[22] It was the slight to his honour inflicted on him by Agamnon that caused Achilles' fateful anger. A man's honour was, in this early period of Greek life, not separate from his excellence, his *arete*. For Greek culture then was, as E. R. Dodds has shown, a 'shame culture'.[23] A man was what he was reputed to be; he could not be great in obscurity. Honour was gained primarily, then, through pre-eminence in battle. The more and the greater the heroes killed, the greater the honour. Honour could also be gained by contests and through the acquisition of treasure, whether by aggression and piracy or by exchange of gifts.

Another characteristic of the Homeric hero was his faith in the gods, particularly clear in Odysseus. He relied on the help of Zeus and Athene in his battle with the suitors, and Telemachus had to learn this faith. In the *Iliad,* Odysseus won the footrace over Aias because he had prayed to Athene. But other heroes, too, were closely related to the gods, as Diomedes to Athene in *Iliad* 5, and Hector to Apollo throughout the *Iliad.*

Certain heroes also excelled by their ability to give counsel, whether the counsel of prudence which Polydamas gives to Hector three times over or the counsel of a warrior-like decision which Diomedes gives at the end of the Embassy (*Iliad* 9) and again later when he suggests that the wounded leaders should go among the fighting men to encourage them (*Iliad* 14).

Another quality which is particularly strong in Odysseus is intelligence and cunning. This, too, is a quality that a warrior may often need, particularly someone like Odysseus who, on his wanderings, had to encounter a great variety of beings who were all trying to keep him back. He also needed it on his return to Ithaca: he would have been overpowered by the hundred and more suitors who were in his palace, if he had come openly. It was his guile that made him go under the cover of disguise, and only this made it possible for him to return to his home safely and regain his kingship.[24]

In early Rome, the noble families were the mainstay of society, just as in Homer's Greece. Most immediately, each such family was represented by grandfather, father, and son. Plautus[25] makes one young man say to another: 'Did your ancestors leave you this fame just so that you could lose by vice what they had won by *uirtus?* So that you could become the champion of the honour of your ancestors, your father and grandfather made the path to the pursuit of office easy and smooth for you.' Here, as in the *Odyssey*, the three generations of a noble line are closely linked in the pursuit of fame through *uirtus*. While this passage is part of a comedy, the same social structure and evaluation appears in a grave inscription of one of the Scipios:[26] 'I increased the merits (*uirtutes*) of my race by my upright standards (*moribus*). I begot children, I followed the exploits *(facta)* of my father. I won the praise of my ancestors *(maiorum)* so that they rejoiced that I have been born to them. Honour *(honor)* ennobled my stock.' In this serious context, as in Plautus, the close and challenging relationship of the aristocratic man both to his father and to his sons is plain. In both passages also the line of the ancestors reaching back into the past is envisaged and felt as a model which one must live up to. The ancestors of a noble line were most impressively present at a man's funeral when their busts were carried behind the dead man's body. But their images were also to be found in the atrium of a Roman noble house[27] so that in life and in death a man was surrounded by the spirit of his forebears, and so was his young son. From the age of seven to the age of sixteen[28] the boy was educated by his father, and a Roman father would take this task very seriously, just as Odysseus did when he taught Telemachus to have faith in the gods and to protect his guest.[29]

The outstanding quality of a great Roman noble was his *uirtus*, 'manly prowess', which corresponds to the Homeric *arete*. Rome would never have become 'Rome', if this small Latin tribe had not been and remained for a long time an extremely warlike and aggressive society. One of the most striking pictures of a great man of early Rome is drawn by Plutarch in his life of Aemilius Paulus.[30] The soldiers deprived of the loot which they believed to be their due tried to vote Aemilius Paulus out of his well-deserved triumph after his victory at Pydna over Perseus of Macedon in 168 B.C. When calm had at last been restored, Marcus Servilius spoke to the rebellious crowd and completely changed their attitude. He is described as a man who had been a consul and who had challenged to single combat and killed twenty-three enemies. This suggests the same kind of fighting as Homer describes in the *Iliad* again and again. At the end of his speech, Servilius inveighed against Galba, a soft man, who had never been wounded, who was inciting the soldiers against Scipio. To

Servilius the credentials for the right to judge a general were wounds received in battle, and he forthwith bared his chest which was badly scarred, and explained in which war he had received each wound. The fact that all this changed the mind of the soldiery shows that a man who was an experienced counsellor and a tried warrior had the power of a great ideal at Rome.

The two qualities desirable in a leading noble are expressed succinctly on the grave-stone of Scipio Barbatus (consul 298 B.C.), when he is called a 'brave and wise man' *(fortis uir sapiensque).* This formulation may well be an imitation of Homeric phrases, where the opposition of eminence in fighting and eminence in counsel is habitual,[31] particularly as the next line of the epitaph is clearly Greek in thought: 'His beauty was altogether like his *uirtus.*' This is a translation into Latin of the Greek ideal of *καlοκἀgathός*.[32] But even if this phrase is Homeric in its formulation, it is clear from the above description of M. Servilius that a great man had to be both a great fighter and a good counsellor.

Again, as in Homer, the goal of great deeds is the winning of honour and glory; and there is, in this early time, no *uirtus*, if it is not famed. According to K. Büchner,[33] 'the society is bound to recognise *uirtus,* just as *uirtus* in its turn depends on the recognition of society.' This is neatly expressed in a saying of Publilius Syrus:[34] 'all *uirtus* lies on the ground, unless it is spoken about everywhere *(iacet omnis uirtus, fama nisi late patet).* Old Roman society was a shame-culture, just like Homeric society.

The sense of dependence on the gods in old Rome is so pervasive and well known that it does not need detailed description.[35] There is, I believe, no counterpart to the Odyssean approval of cunning and guile. The corresponding, but opposite is *fides*, 'trustworthiness', 'honesty'. Regulus, of the middle of the third century B.C., became the great example of the man who keeps his word at the cost of his life.

In all these moral qualities, except the last one, the similarity of social structure and outlook between old Rome and Homeric Greece is plain; and while there is a great difference in temperament between the Homeric and the early Roman warrior, as K. Büchner has shown,[36] the ideal is basically the same. It is, therefore, not surprising that Homer's *Odyssey*, introduced by the Greek, Livius Andronicus, into Roman education, became so firmly entrenched.

There is, however, also a basic difference between the Homeric and the Roman warrior. The Homeric hero fought for his own or his family's glory. This was true also of the Roman warrior, but beyond this he was caught up in the wider society of the state, of Rome itself. As long as the noble warrior sought fame in deeds which were also to the good of his city, an education through reading about Homer's heroes was wholly profitable. But when eventually the great nobles of Rome turned on their own city, fighting for their individual power and fame, then the ideal of a Homeric hero was bound to become ambivalent to the point of being dangerously insufficient.[37] This is the crucial point for Virgil.

Even in the Rome of the first century B.C., Homer holds his own as a moral teacher. Strabo, who came to Rome in 44–35, again in about 31, and again in 7 B.C., defends Homer against the attacks of Eratosthenes who maintained that a poet intends to entertain, and not to teach. 'But,' says Strabo,[38] 'the ancients assert, on the contrary, that poetry is a kind of elementary philosophy which, taking us in our very boyhood, introduces us to the art of life and instructs us, with pleasure to ourselves, in character, emotions, and actions. And our school [*scil.* the Stoics] goes still further and contends that the wise man alone is a poet. This is the reason why in Greece the various states educate the young, at the very beginning of their education, by means of poetry; not for the mere sake of entertainment, of course, but for the sake of moral discipline.' A little later Strabo again defends Homer against Eratosthenes:[39] 'When Homer indulges in myths he is at least more accurate than the later writers, since he does not deal wholly in marvels, but for our instruction he also uses allegory, or revises myths, or curries popular favour.' Children love myths, and by the charm of mythical tales they are induced to learn. Similarly 'every illiterate and uneducated man[40] is, in a sense, a child and like a child he is fond of stories; and for that matter, so is the half-educated man, for his reasoning faculty has not been fully developed, and, besides, the mental habits of his childhood persist in him.' Children are spurred on 'by pleasing myths, and deterred by fear-inspiring myths'. People in the cities are exhorted by poets telling of heroic deeds like the labours of Hercules or Theseus or honours granted to them by the gods; or again they may see such events on paintings or primitive images or in sculpture. 'For in dealing with a crowd of women, at least, or with any promiscuous mob, a philosopher cannot influence them by reason or exhort them to reverence, piety and faith, nay, there is need of religious fear also, and this cannot be aroused without myths and marvels,' like the lightning-bolt, aegis, tridents, and so on. The ancients believed that 'by means of poetry they could satisfactorily discipline every period of life.' Now philosophy has taken the place of the poet in the case of the few. But poetry is still more useful to the people in general, and especially Homer who draws them. For Strabo, Homer is then an educator who enticing children and adults by his poetry teaches them the beginnings of philosophy, a philosophy which is concerned with the art of life, that is, ethics or morality.

Even Horace, reading the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, sees in Homer the great moral teacher. For Homer shows more clearly and more impressively than the Stoic Chrysippus, and the Platonist Crantor, what is noble and what is shameful, what is useful and what is not.[41]

Such is the wider background of Virgil's writing an epic on the model of Homer's *Odyssey* and *Iliad*. But there seem to have been quite specific reasons for Virgil making the decision to write such an epic at the time when he must have made it, reasons which were connected with the state of morality and religious beliefs of those years. His *Georgics* were finished by 29 B.C., when he read them to Augustus on his return from the East after the battle of Actium and the pacification of the Eastern Mediterranean. It is soon after this that Virgil presumably turned to planning the *Aeneid* seriously. What was the specific situation and, in particular, the spirit or mental climate of these years? Three facts are important here. First, having made an end of civil war through his victory at Actium Augustus tried to put through a moral reform for the protection of marriage by legislation in 28 B.C. That this attempt failed, though it was successful ten years later, makes no difference. The attempt shows the attitude of Augustus. A comprehensive sequence of laws concerning morality and also religion followed later which may well have been envisaged at that time. Secondly, Horace was composing his Odes from the time of the battle of Actium on. Three books of Odes were published in 23 B.C. with not much more success than Augustus' legislation in 28 B.C. Thirdly, soon after 26 B.C. Epirota, freedman of Atticus, began to use Virgil and other contemporary Latin poets in his teaching.[42] The poems he used would certainly be Virgil's *Georgics* and Horace's *Satires*, the first book of which was published c. 35, the second c. 30 B.C. There may, of course, have been others.

To return to the first fact, why did Augustus so soon after the end of the civil war embark on a course of moral legislation?

Gordon Williams[43] has shown that Roman historians consider it their task to explain historical events in terms of the character of the leading persons; and further, human nature or the character of a man is to them a matter of ethical values, a matter of morality. Economic and social factors are occasionally mentioned, but they are obviously not considered important. Finally, Roman historians believe that if they formulate their moral analysis of the past with sufficient generality, their histories will have 'predictive value such that decisions about the future can be based on them'.[44] It appears, as Williams suggests, that Augustus had not only read Sallust's description of Rome's decline—a decline in power due to moral decline—but also—and this is much more important—that he believed this sort of analysis to be true to the facts and a firm basis for action. Therefore, Augustus undertook to restore the ancient rectitude of Rome by means of legislation on a comprehensive scale.

Augustus was not alone in believing that the end of the civil war had to be followed by moral regeneration. Horace supported him in his poetry. In *Intactis opulentior*,[45] one of his early odes belonging to the years after Actium,[46] he represents it as necessary for the conclusion of the civil war to be followed by a curb on moral licence, if civil war is going to be prevented permanently. Beginning with excessive wealth which cannot free a man from fear or from death, Horace praises the simple frugal life of the nomads, the Scythians, and the Getae. He praises the virtue and chastity of their wives. From the background of this ideal picture Horace refers to Augustus and his moral legislation of 28 B.C. indirectly:

> 'Whoever shall wish to abolish godless slaughter and civic madness,
> if he shall seek fame as saviour of cities, then he must have the
> courage to curb unbridled licence—destined to fame with
> posterity, since we, alas, hate virtue while it is with us but
> regretfully mourn it when it is snatched from our midst.'[47]

The causal connection which Horace here makes between sexual immorality and civil war is in Roman thought not as vague or as strange as it is to us. To our twentieth century outlook, civil war is a public matter while sex is a private affair. This does not hold for the Romans: both civil war and disregard for marriage are public affairs, closely bound up with the state and detrimental to its well-being. Civil war means, of course, the killing of Romans by Romans; and immorality implies interference with or even failure to produce Romans in a healthy family life with unbroken traditions. It is obvious that such was the view of the Roman citizen of the third century B.C.[48] For the Stoic, too, marriage and the raising of children was one of the wise man's activities within the framework of public life.[49] Horace's social criticism turns, however, also against other vices than immorality: against the insatiable greed for wealth, for instance, in the above ode. But Horace goes beyond mere criticism. Even legislation is futile, if men's ways of life are not changed *'leges sine moribus uanae'*. It is education that might make the difference:

> 'The elements of depraved desire must be eradicated and young minds must be shaped by sterner pursuits. Our freeborn youth does not know how to ride a horse and fears to hunt, better at playing with a Grecian hoop or, should you prefer, with the dice forbidden by law.'[50]

Later Horace puts the need for training and education of nobly born boys in its classical form:[51]

> 'But education furthers the inborn powers
> and the right training strengthens heart and mind.'

Horace himself, speaking about morality in his Odes, intends more than to put forward his ideas. He wants young people to be stirred and roused to right action. For Horace sings as the priest of the Muses to 'maidens and boys' *(uirginibus puerisque canto)*.[52] Working as an educator through the medium of his poetry, he aims to do what in his conception a poet should do to find the fullest approval, namely 'both delight his reader and teach him.'[53] In his letter to Augustus of the year 14 B.C., Horace speaks explicitly of the poet's usefulness to his city. The poet forms the speech of the child.[54] For reading was taught by reading aloud great poetry, the works of Homer and Virgil at the time of Quintilian.[55] 'Soon the poet also moulds the child's character by loving precepts turning him away from harshness, envy and anger. He reports deeds done rightly and equips the coming ages with examples known by his poetry.'[56]

Augustus shared Horace's view of literature and acted on it in the most direct and practical manner. Suetonius[57] says of him that 'in reading authors in both languages [i.e. Greek and Latin] he was interested in nothing so much as to find precepts and examples which were wholesome for public or private life. These he copied literally and frequently sent them to members of his household, to men at the head of the armies or the provinces or to the magistrates of a city wherever anyone was in need of admonition.'

On this background of Augustus' drive for moral regeneration and in view of Horace's attitude visible soon after 30 B.C., e.g. in *Intactis Opulentior,* Epirota's innovation in using contemporary poets for his educational work is readily intelligible. The fact that he did this was also bound to be a stimulus to poets to compose their poetry with an eye to young people.

This is the spirit of the twenties in which Virgil decided to compose the *Aeneid* and composed it.

We have seen that Homer was central to both Greek and Roman education. While in the field of literature to compose an epic modelled on Homer was a startling and risky novelty,[58] in the field of education it was a tremendous piece of work but one set firmly in a very ancient and unbroken tradition.

The specific circumstances which precipitated Virgil into this work are now, I hope, visible If civil war was caused by moral degeneration, then only moral regeneration could provide security against the recurrence of those terrors. Augustus worked towards this regeneration by legislation, Horace by his odes—and Virgil by shaping a new Homeric epic, an epic which would provide precepts and examples to educate the hearts and minds of young people in a new ethic, an ethic of peace and, if necessary, of war for the sake of peace, but not an epic of war for the sake of the glory of war, like the *Iliad.*

In the figure of Dido, the connection of Virgil's work with Augustus' attempt at moral reform in 28 B.C. is strikingly clear, as G. Williams has shown.[59] The guilt *(culpa)* that she incurs by loving Aeneas and calling him her husband lies in her deserting her loyalty to her dead husband Sychaeus. Dido herself says to Aeneas that it is on his account that the flame of her loyal regard for Sychaeus has been extinguished and that she has lost her former reputation which alone would have raised her to the stars, that is, made her immortal.[60] The reputation she means is that of having had *one* husband, the ideal which Horace praises in *Intactis opulentior* when he speaks of the chastity of the Scythian's wife as 'afraid of a second husband.'[61] This is only one small point. The extent and detail of the moral teaching of the *Aeneid* through its actions and its characters, especially Aeneas, can only be realized by a reading of the whole of the epic from this point of view.

We will now turn to the other, closely related aspect of Virgil's thought: the gods and their activity in the universe and the universe itself. What Homer's representation of the gods meant to the Greeks is, of course, expressed by Herodotus as early as in the fifth century B.C. when he says that the Greeks knew little about the gods until Hesiod and Homer described them in their poetry (2.53). The significance of the Homeric gods in the Graeco-Roman context is made explicit by writers later than Virgil. The conviction that knowledge of the cosmos, which includes theology, is to be found in Homer is stated most fully by Heraclitus of the first century A. D. in his *Homeric Questions*. He calls Homer the great priest who instructs in the mysteries of heaven and of the gods,[62] who has opened up the paths to heaven which were impassable and closed to human souls. Heraclitus rejects those who 'in their ignorance fail to understand Homeric allegory and have not descended into the innermost parts of his wisdom.'[63] Their judgement about the truth is made hastily without careful examination, and they snatch at what Homer seems to fashion mythically without knowing what he has said philosophically. With people like these Heraclitus contrasts himself and those who think like him: 'But we who have been hallowed within places made sacred by the sprinkling of water, let us track down truth led by the music of the poems.'

In the main body of his work Heraclitus accordingly explains the deeper allegorical meaning of passages, many of them dealing with the gods, in the *Iliad* (chapters 6–59) and in the *Odyssey* (chapters 60–75). In the conclusion he attacks Plato and Epicurus for their criticisms of Homer. By defending Homer he wants to prevent that a 'dumb ignorance about the cosmos should be spread abroad', that the band of little children should be left unaided, who first drink wisdom from Homer, like milk from a nurse, and that young men (text difficult) and old men should be deprived of the pleasure of it.[64]

Here we meet again the conception of Homer as the educator, especially of children, but also as one who has knowledge about the cosmos, an idea which is stated explicitly by Cornutus, also of the first century A.D., and teacher of Seneca and Lucan.[65] 'The ancients were not just ordinary men, but they were capable of understanding the universe, and they were inclined to philosophize about it through symbols and riddles.' The concern of Cornutus is similar to that of Balbus in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*,[66] namely that the young should be led to have reverence but not to be superstitiously afraid.

In these passages we find not only the conviction that the ancient writers, and Homer in particular, possessed knowledge about the universe, but also a method by which this knowledge, which is a mystery hidden in 'myth', can be made accessible and become 'philosophy': namely, through the revelation of a deeper, allegorical meaning. This method of interpreting the traditional gods is stated in detail by Varro, older contemporary of Virgil, with reference to the statues of the gods worshipped in the Graeco-Roman world. For him, as for Heraclitus a century later, entrance into the understanding of the underlying true meaning of the traditional picturesque presentations of the gods is a revelation of a mystery.[67] Varro says:[68] 'The ancients fashioned the statues of the gods and their emblems and outfit in such a way that those who had entered into the mysteries of the teaching *(qui adissent doctrinae mysteria)* could, when they saw them with their eyes, with their mind *(animo)* see the soul of the universe and its parts, that is, the true gods *(ueros deos).*' The way in which Augustine twice repeats mockingly the phrase 'mysteries of the teaching' makes it certain that Varro used these very words. This is highly significant: the 'true gods' are the soul of the universe and its parts which are apprehended by the mind when the eye sees the traditional statutes of the gods. The way to achieve this is 'to enter into the mysteries of the teaching', or, as one might also put it, 'to become an initiate to these mysteries.' Varro goes on to say: 'Those who made the statues in the image of man seem to have pursued this idea that the mind of mortal man which is in the human body is most similar to the immortal mind. Just as, if vessels were set up to denote the gods and a wine-jar were placed in the temple of Bacchus which was to signify wine, the container would mean its content: even so through the statue which has a human body is indicated the rational soul, because in it, as in a vessel, there is wont to be contained that nature of which they want god or the gods to be.' This rather pregnant passage is best illuminated by a passage of Dio Chrysostomus of the later half of the first century A.D. In his twelfth discourse Dio makes the sculptor Phidias say:[69] 'For no sculptor or painter will be able to picture mind and wisdom as they are in themselves. For no man has ever seen or gathered knowledge about anything of that kind. But since we have more than conjecture, in fact, definite knowledge, about that in which mind and judgement came into existence we take refuge in this, namely the human body, and attach it to the god like a vessel for mind and wisdom when we seek to show forth that which cannot be seen and pictured, thus making use of a symbol.'[70] Phidias goes on to mention Homer as 'by far the greatest Maker *(demiourgos)* of images concerning the divine.'

The need to reinterpret or rethink the traditions about the gods is felt also by Cicero. When he makes Balbus distinguish between 'superstition' and 'religion',[71] he seems to mean by the 'superstitious' those who believe in the gods about whom tales of passion are told and who simply believe in the gods as given in tradition. He certainly means by the 'religious' people those who have 'rethought' it all *(qui autem omnia, quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent, diligenter retractarent et tamquam relegerent)*, that is, for instance, who have apprehended behind the traditional Neptune the Neptune who is the mind that pervades the sea. These gods, says Balbus, we must worship. 'The worship of the gods however is most excellent, chaste, holy and full of piety provided that we worship them always with a pure, sincere, and unspoiled mind and voice.' *(ut eos semper pura, integra, incorrupta et mente et uoce ueneremur.)*

It is, by the way, noteworthy that Varro, too, distinguishes between *religiosus* and *superstitiosus*.[72] The superstitious man is afraid of the gods as of enemies, while the religious man reveres them as if they were his parents. The contrast between piety and fear drawn by Strabo[73] and by Cornutus[74] is also comparable. These passages make the terrifying face of *religio* of Lucretius[75] more real than scholars will usually allow.

Let us now briefly glance at the history of allegorizing Homer in order to form some conception of what lay ready to Virgil's hand in his tradition. How much and what he *did* use can only be found out by detailed interpretation.

In the late sixth century B.C., Xenophanes of Colophon inveighed against the Homeric gods on account of their human form and their all too human actions. He says that 'Homer and Hesiod have attributed to the gods everything that is a shame and a reproach among men, stealing and committing adultery and deceiving each other.'[76] And again: 'But mortals consider that the gods are born, and that they have clothes and speech and bodies like their own.'[77] This is the road of criticism against the old poets which culminates in Plato's casting out of Homer from his Ideal State.

The alternative road also came into view in the sixth century. The Homeric (and also the Hesiodic) stories about the gods were not taken at their face value, but their overt meaning was understood as pointing to another meaning underlying it:[78] they were interpreted as allegories. Poetic allegory had been developed earlier. Archilochus, for instance, had already in the seventh century described war in terms of a storm at sea.[79] In the late sixth century Theagenes of Rhegium in South Italy explained the notorious battle of the gods against each other in the twenty-first book of the *Iliad* as an allegory.[80] In part he identified the gods with physical elements, in part with abstract qualities. He called fire by the names of Apollo, Helios, and Hephaistos; water, Poseidon and Scamandros; the moon, Artemis; the air, Hera, and so on. He also gave the names of gods to 'natural dispositions', calling 'reason' Athene; 'unreason' Ares; 'desire' Aphrodite; 'reasoning' Hermes. Here the battle of the gods is seen as a cosmic battle in part between opposed elements, in part between moral or spiritual qualities. Since our source for Theagenes however is late, we do not really know how Theagenes put the matter. Here, the allegorical meaning of Homer is cosmological, both in a physical and a moral sense.

It is outside the theme of our investigation to pursue this twofold attitude to Homer and also to Hesiod throughout the fifth and fourth centuries. It will suffice to mention two passages from Plato. In discussing the education of the Guardians, Socrates says:[81] 'The stories about Hera being fettered by her son, about Hephaistos being hurled down by his father when he wanted to protect his mother against getting a beating, and all the stories about battles among the gods which Homer has fashioned ought not to be admitted into the city, whether they have been fashioned in allegories or without allegories. For the young person is not able to discern what is allegory and what is not. But whatever such a youngster seizes on in his opinions usually becomes hard to wash out or change.' In this passage Plato does not take sides concerning the alternative possibily that Homer himself may have written in allegorical form, or that he may not. He decides solely as an educator: even if Homer's tales on the gods are allegories they are no use for training the minds of the young, because the young might take them at their face value. As regards Homer himself, Plato implies it at least as a possibility that he may have composed in allegories. In other passages Plato makes Socrates assume that he does. In the *Theaetetus* Socrates treats as allegory the Homeric tale in which Zeus threatens to tie up with a golden rope all the gods and goddesses, together with the earth and sea, and hang them up suspended on a cliff of Mount Olympus, if they will not obey.[82] Socrates says: 'By the golden rope Homer means nothing else than the sun, and he shows that as long as the revolution (of the world) and the sun go on moving, the universe is in existence, and life among gods and men is safe; but if this were to come to a halt, as if fettered, then all things would perish. . . .'[83] Allegorically this threat of Zeus means then that if the gods will not obey, he will stop the revolution of the sun and everything else, which will result in chaos for gods and men.[84]

A poem by Callimachus on the Apollo of Delos[85] is both a description and 'a modern ethical interpretation of an archaic statue', as T. B. L. Webster puts it.[86] Apollo says: 'In order to punish fools for their insolence, I have the bow, but to the good people I stretch out my hand with the Graces. I carry the bow in the left hand, because I am slower to chastise mortals, but the Graces in the right hand, as I am always disposed to distribute pleasant things.'[87] Professor Webster adds that in a further line something was said about the possibility of repentance. Here the bow, the traditional weapon of Apollo from ancient times, expresses the god's just retribution, the fact that he carries it in the weaker, less active hand that he is slow to exact punishment, the fact that he carries the Graces on his right hand that he is ever eager to be gracious rather than stern. Seeing the statue of Apollo in this way the onlooker looks through what is immediately perceptible to the spiritual qualities of the god.

The second poem which is illuminating in this context is the hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes.[88] I will consider only one feature of Zeus as he appears through this hymn, namely that he is in possession of the lightning. Zeus is called 'the lord of lightning',[89] 'he of the black clouds'. The first is a striking variant on Homer's expression, the second is Homeric. Furthermore, it is through his lightning that Zeus has gained the power he has, and has become the supreme being forever (line 10). The story of how Zeus gained supremacy by his lightning bolts is told in detail by Hesiod in the *Theogony*. After his victory over the Titans, Zeus is confronted with the last, most terrible adversary, the monstrous Typhoeus:[90] 'When Zeus had raised his fighting spirit on high and seized his weapons, thunder, lightning flash and the smoky lightning bolt, he struck him leaping upon him from Olympus . . . and when he had subdued him whipping him with blows, he fell down lamed. . . .' The event following on this victory is that the gods urge Zeus to be their king.[91] Zeus is then king through the power of his lightning bolt. So far the image of Zeus is still the image of Homer and Hesiod. But into it are infused the new Stoic beliefs.[92] When the lightning bolt is called 'fiery' and 'living for ever' this evokes the fiery substance of the Stoic world-spirit. When Zeus by this lightning 'directs the common reason, which pervades all things, mingling with the great and the small lights', this is an allusion to the Stoic identification of the world-spirit with reason. The mighty archaic myth of Zeus' victory over Typhoeus would be read by Cleanthes as the irresistible penetration of the cosmos by the fiery and rational spirit of the god.

In both these poems we see how the traditional images of the gods and their weapons are no longer accepted simply, but they are, in meditation, interpreted as images of a deeper, underlying meaning. The underlying meaning in these two instances is spiritual and ethical. Allegory as we have seen it in a variety of examples, by its very nature, works with two levels of understanding: one that is on the surface, and one that is deeper and underlying the first. In the poem of Callimachus and the hymn of Cleanthes what is overt is the god and his weapon, Apollo and his bow, Zeus and his lightning bolt. What is apprehended through and behind these traditional images are the ethical and spiritual qualities and powers of the gods. It is plain that allegorizing of Homer must have been well known to Virgil through Greek literature, while he found the principle of such interpretation stated explicitly in Varro.

The fact that Virgil was, indeed, passionately interested in the universe and the gods is obvious to anyone reading Virgil in a straightforward way. With reference to the cosmos, it has also been shown in detail by Boyancé.[93] In the *Catalepton,* Virgil's friendship with Siro, Epicurean teacher, is evident; and that Virgil knew *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius closely we know from the many points of style he takes over. This means that Virgil must have been interested, at least to some extent, in the atomic theory of the universe. In the *Eclogues,* two astronomers are referred to, Conon and probably Sosigenes of Alexandria[94] and the star of Caesar which helps corn and grapes to ripen.[95] Astronomy and astrology are, of course, the fields of knowledge most closely concerned with the cosmos. Another aspect of Virgil's awareness of the universe appears in the great singers Orpheus[96] and particularly Daphnis,[97] divine prototype of the singing shepherd. Both are in close harmony with nature, especially Daphnis. When he dies, nature mourns; when he rises up to new life, it is jubilant. The same harmony exists between the promised child of *Eclogue 4* and his development and the life both of nature and of civilization. In the *Georgics,* the most striking passages are the description of an Italian spring which widens to the Spring at the beginning of the world when Father Ether mated with Mother Earth[98] and the description of the divine spirit dwelling in the bees and pervading the whole of the universe.[99] But there is also a sensitive coherence, a 'sympathy' between Roman political events and events in nature, especially at the end of *Georgics 1*, where the death of Caesar is foretold by grim natural omens, when even 'the sun covered his shining head with the colour of rust'.[100] This last instance foreshadows the kind of sympathy characteristic of the *Aeneid*. According to Boyancé,[101] 'what comes to expression for a man's intelligence in his belief in "universal sympathy" is manifest to his feelings in omens.' In the description, for instance, of the Eating of the Tables,[102] the perspective suddenly widens 'from the trival and the familiar to all the cosmic powers interested in this solemn moment of the arrival of the Trojans on Italian soil.'[103] Besides brief references of an astrological sort,[104] Virgil represents the bard Iopas as singing about the nature of the universe, sun, moon and stars, origin of man and beast, of rain and fire and so on. Finally, Boyancé suggests that Jupiter, made more sublime in Virgil's representation, comes close to the World Spirit who pervades the universe.[105]

To sum up, there are many reasons for which Virgil chose to write a Homeric epic apart from those with which I have tried to deal in this chapter. One is most certainly the challenge which Homer's exquisite poetry offers to a great poet. The reasons which I have tried to present are, therefore, not meant to supplant those put forward by Brooks Otis and others, but they are additional, though in my estimation important. In fact, Virgil's educational intentions were perhaps, I suggest, to himself and his contemporaries of primary importance.

Chapter 2 The Picture of the Universe of an educated Roman in the first century B.C.

In order to draw a picture of the universe as it would be held by an educated person in the first century B.C., I shall use a variety of material. The purpose of this is not at all to determine Virgil's 'sources' in the *Aeneid.* It is rather to reconstitute imaginatively from contemporary and somewhat later literature the presuppositions of his work, what one might call 'the furniture of his mind' or, if that picture is too trivial, the world in which he felt and thought himself to be living. This is not strictly necessary for an interpretation of the *Aeneid,* but it makes an understanding of that strange ancient world easier.

Varro, the greatest scholar of the century, and Cicero will be the main authors. Both had been students of Antiochus of Ascalon and, like their teacher, understood their position as Platonic. But this Platonism was, as is well known, shot through with Stoic ideas. Minor works from the first century B.C. are *About the Universe* by an unknown author probably belonging to this period, and the introduction to the world history of Diodorus Siculus. In order to supplement the material from Cicero and the very fragmentary evidence from Varro, I shall also adduce the Stoics Heraclitus and Cornutus of the first century A.D. and the Platonist Plutarch of the first to second century A.D.

What is most difficult for us today to understand about the views and beliefs of the Romans in the first century B.C. is the combination of monotheism and polytheism which in their eyes was matter-of-fact and the truth. A man like Varro was not unaware of the difficulty. He explicitly acknowledges the juxtaposition of a certain monotheism and a polytheism, and believes it to be in accord with the facts. He says about the earth, for instance: 'The earth was believed to be Ops because it was improved by toil *(opere);* it was believed to be the 'Mother' because it brought forth many things', and so on. He adds: 'The belief of our forebears about these goddesses, namely that they believed them [*scil.* Ops, the 'Mother', and so on] to be many is not contradictory. But it can happen that the same thing is both one and that in it there are certain things which are many.'[1] Here the Earth is both one goddess and many.

The same applies to the universe as a whole. In the introduction to his *Natural Theology*,[2] Varro describes both aspects. 'He considers that the soul of the universe *(animam mundi)* called *cosmos* by the Greeks is god, and that this universe itself is god; but as a wise man although he consists of both body and mind is yet called wise on account of his mind, thus, considers Varro, the universe is called god on account of his mind, although he consists of both mind and body.' Here the universe is conceived as an immense living being. Like any other living being, he has a mind and a body. This means that although the Cosmos is divine as a whole, he is yet not of the same quality all over. This strange notion is illuminated by an analogy with a human being: the wise man's body in so far as it is part of a wise man is wise also, but, apart from that, it need not be or perhaps is not. Correspondingly, the physical or bodily masses of the universe are divine in so far as they are part of the Cosmic God who is both world-soul and world-body; but apart from him, they are not necessarily divine to the same degree. Here the attribution of the fulness of deity to all the parts of the universe is carefully limited.

This gradation in quality is described in detail by Varro as recounted by Augustine in the following passage: 'There are three grades of soul in the whole of nature. One pervades all the living parts of the body and is devoid of sensitivity, but has strength only for life itself. In our body, says Varro, this power *(hanc uim)* flows through into the bones, the nails and the hair; in the universe, correspondingly, trees are nourished and grow, devoid of sensitivity, and are alive in a certain way all their own. The second grade of soul is the one in which there is sensitivity. This power goes into the eyes, the ears, the nose, the mouth and into touch. The third grade of soul is the highest, which is called mind *(animus)* in which intelligence is the most excellent part *(praeeminet).* Apart from man, all mortal beings are without it. This part of the world-soul is, according to Varro, called god, while in us humans it is called *genius.* In the universe there are stones and earth which we can see, but into which sensitivity does not permeate, the bones and finger nails, as it were, of god. The sun again, the moon and the stars which we perceive with our senses, and by means of which the god himself perceives, are his sense-organs. The ether, furthermore, is his mind *(animus)*. The power of his mind entering into the stars makes them into gods also;[3] what flows through them into the earth makes the earth into the goddess Tellus; and again what from there flows through into the sea and the ocean is the god Neptune.'[4] Let us pick out from this rich passage what pertains to the one, the Cosmic god. Stones, earth, and trees are, as it were, his bones, finger and toe nails, and hair, pervaded by that grade of soul which means life. The sun, the moon, and the stars are his sense organs, filled with life-giving and sensitive soul. The ether which is the uppermost portion of the universe is his mind. Here soul *(anima)* is transformed into something higher and more perfect, namely mind *(animus)*; and again mind is transcended by something higher, the highest, namely intelligence *(intelligentia)*. Mind with intelligence is god. Here we encounter again the same complication as in our first passage, namely that both the universe as a whole and the upper portion of the universe, the ether in particular, is god.

In terms of traditional religion the same complexity is found: both the universe as a whole, in fact the Cosmic god is called Jupiter; and also the ether (with some variations) is identified with Jupiter.

In a book, lost to us, *On the Worship of the Gods*, Varro explains certain verses of Valerius Soranus, who was a contemporary of Varro and Cicero. The verses are as follows: 'Jupiter, mighty Father of kings and of gods and of all things, Mother as well of the gods, one god comprising all others.'[5] Varro explains these lines as follows: 'The one who emits seed is called male, and the one who receives it female; Jupiter is the universe, and both emits all seeds and receives them into himself. Hence it is with good reason that Soranus wrote, 'Jupiter, mighty Father and Mother as well', and with equally good reason described him as one God and at the same time all things. For the universe is one, and all things are in that one.'[6] Here Jupiter is identified with the universe as a whole: he is the Cosmic god; and by implication he is, of course, also all there is.

So far we have looked in the main at Varro's monotheistic beliefs. But Varro also believes in a number of gods. He affirms that 'the soul of the universe and its parts are the true gods';[7] and these parts of the universe, which are true gods, he describes as follows: 'The universe is divided into two parts, heaven and earth, and the heaven is twofold, divided into ether and air, and the earth in turn is divided into water and land. Of these the highest is the ether, the second air, the third water and the fourth earth. All these four parts, he says, are full of souls, immortal souls in the ether and the air, mortal souls in the water and on land. From the highest circle of heaven to the circle of the moon are etherial souls *(ad circulum lunae aetherias animas esse),* the constellations and the stars, and these are not only known by our intelligence to exist, but are also visible to our eyes as heavenly gods. Then between the circle of the moon and the highest region of clouds and winds are aerial souls *(aërias esse animas),* perceived as such by the mind, not by the eyes. They are called *heroes* and *lares* and *genii.* This (says Augustine) is, briefly stated, the natural theology that Varro sets forth in his introduction, a theology approved not only by Varro but by many philosophers.[8] Here we encounter two groups of divine beings. In the region of the ether, from the top of the universe down to the lunar circle, there are the constellations and the stars which are gods, in the air between the circle of the moon and the top of the clouds there are 'aerial' spirits; and in the universe as a whole there are four parts: ether, air, water and earth, which are according to Varro 'true gods'.

The division of the universe into these four parts is ancient and very natural. As we look out into an open landscape, the ancient 'pair' of Heaven and Earth meets us at once. In poor weather the air above us is dark, filled with mist and cloud pregnant with lightning, often harassed by winds. But when the weather turns fair, the darkness and the clouds part. We look up beyond into the ether above, which is full of light and utterly pure. The earth in its turn is in part covered by oceans and lakes, sometimes to a great depth; but below it there is always the earth, as far as the sounding anchor can reach. In this way the four great parts of the universe are immediately there to be experienced. They are also, of course, equivalent to the four elements of fire, air, water, and earth, traditional and very ancient in philosophy. These four parts of the universe are then according to Varro 'true gods.'

That the ether, which in relation to the Cosmic God is that god's 'mind and intelligence', should in itself be thought of as a divine person and so be called Jupiter is readily intelligible. Varro,[9] in his interpretation of the mysteries of Samothrace, 'wants Jupiter to be understood as the sky, Juno as the earth, and Minerva as the "ideas",' referring here to the Platonic theory of ideas.[10] The distinction between Jupiter and Minerva corresponds to the distinction between 'mind' *(animus)* and 'intelligence' described above.[11] For the belief that Jupiter is the ether[12] Cicero gives the fullest expression in his poem *De Consulatu Suo:* 'First Jupiter ablaze with the ether's fire turns and illumines with his light the whole world, and eagerly seeks sky and land with his divine mind which from deep within preserves man's sensitivity and life, fenced about and enclosed within the vault of the eternal ether.'[13] Here Jupiter himself as the ether and divine mind is the very highest power; and even the sky stands in need of his penetration. This conception is perhaps closest to Virgil's Jupiter in the *Aeneid.* Varro also describes, as we have seen, how the ether which is the power of the Cosmic God's mind enters into the stars and makes them gods, and how through the stars it flows into the earth and makes it the goddess Tellus, and again how it flows from there into the sea and so becomes the god Neptune. A very similar description of this process is given by Cicero as part of his presentation of Stoic views. Cotta, criticizing Stoic theology, says: 'Of Neptune you say that he is mind with intelligence pervading the sea.'[14] Correspondingly, Balbus the Stoic says: 'The god pervading the nature of everything, the earth as Ceres, the sea as Neptune, other parts as other gods—these can be understood in their identities and qualities, and the various names traditionally used for these; and these gods we ought to worship and tend.'[15]

It is plain then that to Varro, the Academic, and to Balbus, the Stoic of Cicero's dialogue, the god Neptune is the Cosmic God's mind and intelligence pervading the sea, and the goddess of the earth is the Cosmic God's mind and intelligence pervading the earth, whether she is called Tellus or Ceres or Ops or Mater or Proserpina or Vesta.[16]

When Varro in his interpretation of the Samothracian mysteries[17] simply contrasts heaven and earth, he identifies the earth with Juno while Jupiter is the sky as a whole without any division into ether and air. A variation on this is the view held by Plutarch of the first century A.D., who was an Academic like Varro. He says about *Kore,* the Moon, that she is the 'boundary of Hades'; and he believes that Homer cryptically expresses this idea when he makes Proteus say to Menelaus that he will not die, but that the immortals will send him 'to the Elysian plain and the boundaries of the earth.' According to Plutarch, Homer reckoned as the end and boundary of the earth the place to which the shadow of the earth extends which at certain times is the moon. Here earth is not only the solid earth, but also earth's shadow, that is, the dark air between the earth's surface and the moon.[18] So the division between heaven and earth varies.

But most commonly Juno is identified with the air. Cicero says: 'The air, however, which is located between the sea and the sky is according to the Stoics placed among the gods by the name of Juno, who is the sister and wife of Jupiter, because air is very similar to ether and very closely joined to it.'[19] This identification, which goes back to Parmenides, Empedocles, and, what is most important for our context, to Plato,[20] is fully described by Cornutus of the first century A.D.: 'The wife and sister of Zeus is according to tradition Hera who is the air. For she is immediately attached to him and stuck to him being lifted up from the earth while he bestrides her.'[21]

One further notion about ether and air is important. When Cicero represents Varro as explaining the views of Antiochus, Varro speaks about the four 'elements' which are fire, air, water, and earth.[22] He distinguishes between them as follows: 'Among them air and fire have the power to set something in motion and to bring something about, while the other parts have the power to receive and to suffer, as it were, water I mean and earth.' Here fire and air are active and creative principles, while water and earth are receptive and passive. If fire (which is the same as ether) and air are thought of as Jupiter and Juno, their active nature may well be embodied in the dramatic action of the *Aeneid* in which Jupiter and Juno are the 'prime movers'.[23]

Having discussed the four 'parts' of the universe, we will now turn to their inhabitants as Varro describes them. These parts are crammed with living beings, not only the land and the waters, but also the air and ether. Earth and sea, lakes and rivers are full of mortal beings: men, animals, fish, and so on. The living beings in the air and in the ether are immortal. What happens between the surface of earth or sea and the upper limit of the region of clouds and winds is not specified here.

Between this upper limit and the circle of the moon dwell 'aerial souls' *(aërias esse animas).* We cannot perceive them with our bodily eye but we can apprehend their existence with our minds. They are described as *'heroes', lares,* and *genii. Heroes* are men who are deified for their services to mankind.[24] As for *genii,* we have already seen that according to Varro the highest grade of soul is mind with intelligence which man alone among mortal Beings shares with the Cosmic God; and in man this part is called *genius*. Elsewhere Varro says that 'the *genius* is the rational mind *(animum rationalem)* of each person.'[25] Concerning the *lares* Arnobius says that Varro 'hesitatingly affirms, now, that they [the *lares*] are *Manes*, that is, Spirits of the dead, now again that they are called aerial gods and heroes, now again, following the opinion of the ancients he says that they are Larvae, certain *genii*, as it were, and souls of the dead.'[26] But as Boyancé points out,[27] the word *lares* is also used by Cicero in his translation of Plato's *Timaeus* to render *daimones*, where *daimones* denotes the gods which follow the astral divinities. Here, according to Boyancé 'Cicero interprets these lines in the sense of a demonology,' 'probably in the tradition of Xenocrates', second successor to Plato as head of the Academy. Cicero also tells us that Posidonius accounted for dreams by the fact that the air was full of immortal spirits with which the sleeping man's spirit was in touch.[28] Being in *aër* these spirits are between the surface of the earth and the ether, as in Varro's presentation.

On the nature of these spirits or daemons we have no direct evidence for the first century B.C. But we can draw a connection between earlier thinkers, namely the Platonist Xenocrates of the fourth century B.C. and the Stoic Chrysippus of the third century B.C. on the one hand, and Plutarch of the first to second centuries A.D. on the other. One of the speakers in Plutarch's work on the *Obsolescence of Oracles*[29] argues that 'in the confines, as it were, between gods and men there exist certain natures susceptible to human emotion (*πάθη θνητά*) and involuntary changes, whom it is right that we, like our fathers before us, should regard as demigods (*δαίμονας*), and calling them by that name, should reverence them.' Here, a man of the late first century A.D. believes first that he ought to worship daemons, as his forebears did, and secondly that these daemons had 'human emotions'. He supports this view by referring to Xenocrates. Plutarch himself maintains that deeds told in ancient stories which are too shameful to be believed of the gods, whether Egyptian or Greek, should not be transferred to men.[30] In his judgement it is best to believe that these are the 'experiences of great daemons'.[31] Referring to Xenocrates and Chrysippus, he describes them as being much more powerful than men, but divine only in an impure, mixed form, since they partake in the nature of the human soul and in the perceptive powers of a human body, experience pleasure and pain and are, some more, some less, thrown into turmoil by the variations of this. Plutarch rounds off his description by saying that 'as among men, so also among daemons differences occur in virtue and vice.'[32]

On the other hand, Plutarch also believes that daemons as 'ministers of the gods', like servants and clerks, guard their sacred rites, prompt in the Mysteries and 'go about as avengers of arrogant and grievous cases of injustice.'[33] Elsewhere, Plutarch quotes the followers of Chrysippus as thinking that 'evil spirits stalk about whom the gods use as executioners and avengers upon unholy and unjust men.'[34]

Since this picture of good and evil daemons found in Xenocrates (fourth century B.C.), Chrysippus (third century B.C.), and Plutarch (first to second century A.D.) is reasonably consistent, there is every likelihood that during the intervening period a group of the 'spirits of the air' mentioned by Varro were similarly conceived. All this is important for understanding the conception of such evil spirits as Allecto, Fama and others, the Dira of Book 12 in the *Aeneid* and even the goddess Juno herself who is, as we have seen,[35] identified with the air.

The question may well be asked at this point, how evil spirits could be thought to be part of a cosmos ruled by the One God or be part of the Being of the One Cosmic God. For it would seem to imply that the work of those evil spirits was done in accord with the will of the One God.

Chrysippus tries to give an answer to, at least, a part of this problem, namely the fact that good men are at times beset by disasters and diseases, an injustice which seems inconsistent with the rule of a Cosmic God. He tentatively offered three possible explanations:[36]

1. 'Certain men are neglected just as in large houses some husks and grain go astray, although the estate is well-managed,'
2. 'evil daimons are in control in cases where there actually are instances of such culpable neglect,'
3. 'the "mixture of necessity".'[37]

The first provides, I believe, a clue for the understanding of the second, if A. A. Long's interpretation of the first is used. He adduces Chrysippus as saying in his work *On Nature*[38] the following:

> 'The evil *(kakia)* which occurs in terrible disasters has a principle *(logos)* peculiar to itself; for in a sense it too occurs in accordance with universal reason and, so to speak, is not

> without usefulness in relation to the whole. For *without* it there could be no good.'

This may be no more than 'asserting the necessary conjunction of contraries'.[39] But more may well be meant, if the passage is brought into relation to the Cosmic God. According to Long,[40] 'from God's eternal viewpoint all events are causally related in a uniform whole. He is concerned with all time, with the aggregate rather than the individual. Human action apart, God is *directly* responsible for all events. Disease and disaster are not the object of his plan but an unavoidable consequence of the good things which are', and further, 'the Stoic sees sufficient evidence of a benevolently ordered world to accept cosmic evil as something which eventually, if not now, will prove to have been useful to the whole.' This is a view of disaster as having its proper place within a universe which *is* the Cosmic God or is ruled by him.

It is plain that evil spirits or daemons could fit into the whole of a Cosmic God in a corresponding fashion. Their ascendancy would last for a time, but it would be limited and ultimately controlled by the supreme god.

In the air between the circle of the moon and the top of the region of winds and clouds there are then the souls of heroes, daemons both good and evil, and the 'rational minds' or 'spirits' of men. The latter are in fact the immortal spirits of the dead which means that Hades, the region of the dead, is up in the air below the moon—at least in part. For, according to Cicero, those who have lived in servitude to the pleasures of the body and have offended against the laws of gods and men are condemned after death to be rolled around the earth itself under torture for many ages before they return to the heights.[41] Cicero certainly considered a belief in the Underworld below the surface of the earth an old wife's tale. After death the ordinary people were believed to live 'on the ground', that is not far up above the earth.[42] But the spirits of famous men and women rose up to the sky, to the region of the stars.[43]

The upper portion of the universe is the ether reaching 'from the highest circle of heaven to the circle of the moon', as Varro says. It is full of 'ethereal souls' visible as heavenly gods, the stars. It is to this region that the souls of those who 'have kept safe, supported and increased their native land'[44] rise up, whether they become stars or live on the Milky Way. It is also from here, from 'those eternal fires' called stars by men, that the 'spirit' of human beings derives.[45]

The ascent of such a soul after death is graphically described by Cicero: it escapes from the air near us here, and 'breaks through it'; 'it passes through and pushes apart all this sky of ours in which clouds, rain and winds are pressed together, which is damp and foggy owing to the exhalations of the earth.' When the spirit has won above this region and has reached a place similar in nature to itself and has recognized it as such, then 'it sets foot on these fires consisting of both a delicate breeze and moderated heat of the sun' and rises no further and is there nourished by the same stuff by which the stars are fed.[46] The arrival of a soul ascending to the life of a god is described by Virgil in the fifth *Eclogue* 56–7: 'Radiant with beauty Daphnis admires the threshold of Olympus which is new to him and sees under his feet clouds and stars.' The ether beyond the air, between the circle of the moon and the very summit of heaven, is then full of immortal beings.

When the Roman looked up into the sky, he did not, as we do, look up into an immense empty space with inanimate physical bodies moving at enormous distances; but he looked up into regions of increasing purity and brilliance, filled with the living spirits of those who had departed from this life, with diverse spirits and with gods visible as stars.

Let us try to envisage this combination of the one Cosmic God and a plurality of gods and of other Beings in such a way that we can easily hold it in our minds, and work with it, without continually having to struggle to reconstitute it again. We will take a coin as our model. It is round as the cosmos was believed to be. Suppose it has the head of a sovereign on one side, and a group of figures in various postures on the other. Suppose the sovereign's head stands for the One God, and the figures for the many beings and things that belong to the world as we see it. For the sake of easier statement let us call the side of the *One* God monistic, and the side of the various figures pluralistic. Suppose this coin is alive: then as the *One* God moves in spirit or, to put it differently, as his spirit stirs into motion the mass of the cosmos, so must the multitude of beings on the other side of the coin move correspondingly. The unity of movement on the monistic side is obvious and to be expected, since it is the movement of the *One* God. The corresponding unity of movement on the pluralistic side is a more complex matter. How is the unity in action or movement of this vast plurality achieved so as to correspond to the unity of the One Cosmic God on the monistic side?

In Stoic thought, the term for this close coherence of the parts of the cosmos is 'sympathy', as is well known. Such observations as of the connection between the phases of the moon and the tides and others are used as arguments for the oneness of the cosmos ruled by one divine spirit. Cicero speaks of 'that great kinship of things expressed in an unceasing harmony of agreement'.[47] Here the coherence consists in an interconnection of physical phenomena which are however never, as we have seen, inanimate, because they are always, at least to some extent, pervaded by cosmic spirit. A similar idea is used to explain divination by means of dreams. Posidonius distinguished three ways in which men dream at the instigation of the gods.[48] The second one is based on this, 'that the air is full of immortal spirits in which the clear marks of truth, as it were, are evident.'[49] How this comes about is explained more fully later.[50] 'They believe that our spirits are divine and that they are drawn from outside [the body], and that the cosmos is full of a multitude of spirits who are in agreement with one another, and that through this divinity of our mind and its joining minds outside [itself] the future is discerned.' On the word *consentientium* Pease comments: 'The adjective *consentientium* is here inserted to express the relationship of "sympathy" thought of as existing between these *animi* mutually and between them and the *mundus* as a whole.' In this context the coherence of the world does not consist in an inter-connectedness of phenomena in nature, but in a harmony of living spirits or minds which throng the air.[51]

Virgil himself has described the conjunction of the *One* and the *Many* in their simultaneity in such a cosmos in his fourth *Eclogue*. The boy who is to be born—whoever he is—is clearly envisaged as some sort of Cosmic Being. For as he grows from childhood to adolescence, and from adolescence to manhood, the universe grows and matures with him.

While he is a small child, nature is at peace and serves him. The earth gives him ivy leaves and the nard of the countryside, lilies and acanthus to play with. Goats bring him milk of their own accord, and flowers grow up under him when he sleeps. Animals are unafraid of each other; poisonous snakes and plants perish; but Assyrian spice grows everywhere. This is the world of a child, innocent, free of fear, and abounding in good things.

As the child becomes a boy and a youth, he reads about the glorious deeds of heroes and his father's achievements, and so becomes a morally conscious person: he learns the meaning of *uirtus*. Correspondingly, raw nature produces civilized fruits: the grassy field ripens into corn, the thornbush grows grapes, and oaks sweat honey. But not all the deeds of the heroic age are blameless: the age of the heroes is in Virgil's eyes no more than a phase in the growth towards perfection. The 'footprints of an ancient deceit' are still just below the surface, and therefore seafaring, fortification of towns, and ploughing of the soil still go on; and these three activities mean for Virgil greed, war, and violence done to the earth. Thus there are still piratical excursions, like the journey of the Argonauts, and wars, like the Trojan War. The youth of the One Being and the youth of the universe are then a time of development in which a growing awareness of moral goodness is mixed with wrongdoing.

Finally, when the youth has grown to the solidity of full manhood, trade overseas will stop, and there will be no more harrowing of the soil or pruning of vine or ploughing with oxen, because every land will produce everything. Even the delight of colours in wool, like red, saffron, and scarlet, will be free of the taint of artificiality (which to Virgil is a lie), because the wool of sheep will naturally grow in these colours. In this final phase, the powers of the earth herself have strangely matured so that the products of technical civilization become a product of nature. But the supreme characteristic of this age, mentioned earlier by Virgil (14–16), is that the Cosmic Being enters the life of the gods and rules the world in peace.

Here we see clearly, on the one hand the *one* child who grows into a youth and then into a man, and on the other the earth, plants, animals, and men in all their activities, living at each phase in close correspondence to the child, the youth, and the man.

A further characteristic or quality of the cosmos is its gradation in moral worth. To some extent, this is implied in Varro's description[52] of the 'three grades of soul' which are found both in the cosmos and in man, the three grades being: soul with life but without sensitivity, soul with life and sensitivity, and thirdly mind together with intelligence. Since this third grade, in the cosmos, is called god, it is obviously the highest there is. This gradation is also implied in the daemons being intermediate between gods and men,[53] and in the dwelling places of the spirits of the dead varying in height according to their merits or sins, as told by Cicero.[54]

But the most striking description of it occurs in the pseudo-Aristotelian work *About the Cosmos.* According to Furley,[55] it was written about 40 B.C., which means that it was written by a contemporary of Virgil. We know nothing about the author. The situation assumed in this work is fictitious; for the author addresses himself to Alexander, 'the best of princes', and suggests that it is fitting 'for him to undertake the study of the greatest things, and that philosophy should have no humble intentions, but should greet the most excellent men with worthy gifts.'[56] Let us note here that knowledge about the cosmos is something that a great leader should have.[57]

In the description of *About the Cosmos* (392a 6ff) the 'dwelling-place of the gods' is contrasted with 'what is below', which is the region of mortal living beings. The ether is the stuff of the sky and the stars. Then there are the spheres of the planets and lastly that of the moon which is bounded by the earth, the earth reaching up to below the moon.[58] This upper portion is etherial and divine; it does not experience any change or perturbation (ἀπαθῆ). Continuous with it is the lower region, which in every part is open to turmoil, change, and death. The first layer of this is a fine fiery substance. In this region, which is said to be fiery and 'disorderly', there are meteors, flames, and comets.[59] Next below it, 'air' is spread out, dark and icy by nature, but illumined and shot through by fire in consequence of its movement. In this region there are clouds, rainstorms, snow, thunder and lightning, and all the other phenomena of bad weather. Below this is the region of all that is 'wet' or 'liquid'; and after this, there is the earth unmoved and unshakeable. The whole of this part of the cosmos is called the lower part.

The gradation in 'worth' inherent in the nature of these layers is made explicit in an earlier passage.[60] There the cosmos and its regions are seen in relation to the god who is the saviour and originator of all that comes about in the universe. He does not undergo the weariness of a toiling living being, but with his undiminishable power he controls even those things which seem to be far away from him. He himself is seated on the highest and first place, and so is called 'the highest', sitting, according to Homer, 'on the highest summit'[61] of the whole heaven. The body nearest him enjoys his power most of all, and then the next one, and so on in sequence right to the place of human beings. It seems that for this reason the earth and what is on the earth, being at the furthest remove from the help that comes from the god, is weak and discordant and full of much turmoil.

In this conception of the universe, the divine, the natural, and the moral are all grasped at once and in perfect union. This is Virgil's conception, too, as I hope to show.

Finally, this great, one and manifold, living universe with its wide range of beings and values is not static or at rest. It is for ever in motion: it revolves. It is a space-time whole whose movement is both a circular swinging-round and a cyclic series of events. As the stars, those luminous divine beings, move on their mighty circles across the sky around the earth, so the lives, actions, and sufferings of men move in consonance or 'sympathy' with them in the changeful, but recurrent cycles of mythical and historical happenings.[62]

This view is strikingly expressed by Diodorus Siculus in the introduction to his universal history, probably written between 60 and 30 B.C. Diodorus says about writers of universal history: 'They made it their ambition to bring all mankind, who however distant they are from each other in place and time share a mutual kinship, into one and the same common scheme; and they have done this, as if they were born to be servants of divine providence. For providence brings the ordered arrangement of the visible stars and the natures of men together into a relationship of mutual correspondence (*εἰς κοινὴν ἀναλογίαν*) and makes them revolve unceasingly throughout all time, dealing out to each one what falls to their lot by destiny. Universal historians have recorded the actions of the whole inhabited world as if it were one city, and so have made of their pursuits one account and a universal council chamber of deeds done.' What concerns us here is the relation of Providence to the world of stars, that is, of gods and of men. Here, Providence is represented as turning the mighty orb of the universe with the stars and human history in their courses like an enormous globe.[63]

What is characteristic of the first century B.C. here is the *analogia* which exists between the visible stars and the natures and lives of men. The science of this relationship was, of course, astrology, *the* great 'science' of the day which in the course of the first century B.C. increasingly captured the mind of the Romans. Suetonius, in his life of Augustus,[64] lets us see, for instance, how Augustus, first doubtfully and half afraid, approached an astrologer, but eventually was fully persuaded of the truth of his horoscope.[65]

When astrology developed to the full and was unconditionally believed to be true, the feel of life in the universe was one of unmitigated compulsion. Eventually it went so far that the activity of each hour in the week was determined by a specific deity. In a world in which capricious cruelty was liable to run amok, this was perhaps even welcome. In Virgil it had not gone so far. But the power and influence of the gods over human lives is an essential theme in the *Aeneid*.

Part II THE STRUCTURE OF THE COSMOS IN THE *AENEID*

The Cosmos as described by Anchises

In the 'Underworld', the spirit of Anchises reveals to his son Aeneas the values and structure of the universe and the value of man's life within it. The following is a part of his teaching.[1]

First of all, heaven, earth, sea, and sun and moon are set over against breath or spirit *(spiritus)* which nourishes them from within; in further explanation, limbs, mass, and mighty body are set over against the mind which is spread through the limbs, stirs the mass into action, and mingles with the body. So there are heaven, earth, sea, moon, and sun which form the mighty limbs of the massive cosmic body. These are nourished, pervaded, and set in motion by breath or mind. The whole cosmos or universe is one body alive in every part through the breath and mind that pervade it. This implies that what we should call 'inanimate nature' —heaven or sky, earth and water—is alive, because throughout each of them and each part of them is poured out the breath or mind of this universe. Here the cosmos is *one,* its unity being that of a living organism.[2]

From the mingling of the breath or mind of the cosmos with the body of the cosmos came to be man, beast, bird, and fish. The life-force within them is fiery, and the origin of their seed is heavenly.[3] Their bodies, on the other hand, are 'harmful' to them, 'slow them down', 'make them weak', and are 'doomed to death'. Their bodies and limbs are such, because they are 'earthen'. Man and the animals have then within them two contrasted substances: the fiery and heavenly on the one hand, and the earthen on the other. The fiery and heavenly means life and strength, the earthen harm, slowness, weakness, and death. This conception of the nature of man and the animals tells us not only about man, but by implication it also adds a new dimension to our knowledge about the cosmos as a whole. So far we have been told that the whole universe is alive through the indwelling breath or mind. Now we learn that the cosmos is not the same all over, but that its upper portion, the heaven, is fiery and connected with strength, life, and fertility, while its lower portion, the earth, implies all that tends to impede life and in the end overcomes life by death. This introduces a gradation of values into the world: the cosmos rises from the deadly depths of the earth to the fiery height of heaven which abounds in life.[4]

Man is then a mixture of heaven and earth, and as such is subject to the baneful influences of his earthen parts. From these arise in him fear and desire, grief and joy, and the incapacity to see clearly the breezes which move, of course, in the heaven. This implies a further definition of values in the cosmos. What is of the sky or heaven is fiery, full of life, free of passion, and free of the darkening of the mind caused by the fetters of earth; what is of the earth is tied up with death, subject to conflicting emotions, and deprived of vision. If all this is imagined in its full scale, it means that the universe is a structure which from the turbulent evil depths of the earth rises up, with light, tranquillity, and purity increasing, to the top of the heavens, where there is nothing but fiery ether and mind. This gradation in life-force and in moral quality is characteristic both of the One Cosmic God, and of the world of the many living beings which have been born from the One God, namely men, animals, birds, and fish.

The universe is then twofold in nature. On the one hand, it is One all-comprehensive divine being; and the parts of the cosmos, like heaven, earth, sea, are his limbs. But it is also a world full of many beings graded in the quality of their character. Let us see to what extent this is, in fact, a picture of the cosmos in the *Aeneid* as a whole.[5]

The Spheres of the Cosmos and the Beings living in them

The entire cosmos in the *Aeneid* is peopled with living beings. They dwell at every level of it, from the dark chasms of the earth to the top of the ether.

Of Varro's four parts of the universe,[6] earth and water are necessarily represented in Virgil's picture. While in Anchises' description (6.724ff) air and ether are indicated together by the word 'heaven' or 'sky' *(caelum),* Virgil's distinction between them emerges from his use of the words *aër* and *aether* and their derivatives. Sleep is described as gliding down lightly 'from the ethereal stars', pushing asunder 'the dark air' *(aër),* and parting the shadows (5.838–9). When he has done this, 'the breezes blow evenly' (*aurae* 844). Apollo, sitting on a cloud 'in the ethereal region' (9.638), speaks to Julus, and then lets himself down from the high ether, pushes asunder the blowing 'breezes', and makes for Ascanius. The higher part of the cosmos is a region of *aether.* Below it may be *aër* or *aurae.*

Aër may be dark as in 5.839 above. When a storm arises, *aër* is compressed into a cloud (*in nubem cogitur aër* 5.20).[7] Venus wraps Aeneas 'in dark air' (1.411) to make him invisible. *Aërius* can also mean 'up in the air, lofty', and is used of oaks (3.680; 9.679), of a 'cloud' of birds (7.704), and of the 'towers of the Phaeacians' (3.291) where Williams[8] translates it as 'cloud-capped', and of mountains (6.234; 8.221) where the height may imply mist round the summit or clouds. On the other hand, Mount Olympus is never called *aërius,* but rather *aetherius* (6.579; 8.319; 11.867) which refers to its great height, but means more than that: Olympus is the seat of Jupiter, 'king of the ether' (12.140). Birds fly in the *aether* (7.34; 11.272, 756) as well as in *aër* (5.216; 6.202). Thunderstorm and lightning belong to the region of *aether* (1.90; 2.113; 4.167; 10.356), but it is also the bright sky which may be darkened by a flight of birds (12.253) or weapons (12.578) or surrounded by clouds (5.13) or 'opened up' as a cloud dissolves (1.587). Finally the *aether* seems to be like a vaulted receptacle for noise: shouting (5.140, 228; 7.395; 12.409), lamenting (4.668), the clash of armour (12.724), and so on: all din rises up to and resounds in the high expanse of the *aether.*[9]

Roughly speaking, *aër* is then the lower air, and *aether* the upper portion of what is above earth and sea.[10]

Virgil's meaning of *aether* and *aetherius* is not exhausted by the above descriptions. When Ilioneus speaks to Dido about Aeneas, uncertain whether he has survived the storm, he says ((1.546–7): 'If Fate keeps the man safe, if he is nourished by the ethereal breeze [*aura aetheria*][11] and does not yet succumb to the cruel shades, there is no fear.' Here, to be nourished by the ethereal breeze is to be alive owing to the life-giving power of ether within the body. When Anchises explains (6.760ff) that Silvius will be first to be reborn, he says that 'he will be the first to rise up to the ethereal breezes' *(ad auras aethereas).* Again the life-giving power of ethereal breezes is implied.[12] In Book 11 the Latin ambassadors ask Aeneas for a truce so that they may bury their dead. They give as a justification for their request 'that there was no strife with those who were defeated and empty of ether' *(aethere cassis* 104). Here, 'being empty of ether' means to be dead, ether being the force of life in man. The most explicit passage on this matter is in the fourth book of the Georgics (219ff) following on the description of the life of the bees.[13] Virgil says that some people have maintained that the bees had in them part of the divine mind and a 'draught of ether' *(aetherios haustus);* that the god went through all lands, tracts of the sea, and the unlimited sky; that from this source cattle, flocks, men, and wild beasts, each one, in being born took to itself the fine flame of life; that, of course, they all returned hither and when dissolved were brought back hither, and that there was no room for death, but that they flew alive to be numbered among the stars and to rise up to the height of the heaven. Virgil does not in this passage indicate whether he holds this view or not. In the *Aeneid* he accepts it in a modified form. We have seen that the concept of ether as the life-giving divine force permeating living creatures is implied in a number of passages. But the idea explained by Anchises of the ethereal purity being tainted by contact with the earthen body and standing in need of purification is very different from the happy assumption of the Georgics passage that the ether of all living beings returns forthwith to the ether of the cosmos.

This analysis of *aether* and *aër* and the adjectives derived from them gives us a picture of the place proper to them and of their qualities. The placing of *aër* and *aether* is not rigidly separated, but on the whole *aether* is above *aër*. Stars are certainly never in *aër,* nor trees or mountains (except Olympus) in *aether.* While *aether* is bright and has the power to give life, *aër* is liable to be misty and dark and its place is close to earth and sea.

Let us then pass in review the most characteristic beings who inhabit the various spheres of the universe, starting from the bottom.

The most fiendish spirit or demon belonging to the earth is Allecto.[14] She is roused by Juno from 'the darkness below' (7.325, cf. 454), and at her command she withdraws into an opening of the Ampsanctus valley (7.561ff). The terror of this place enclosed by dark forested mountain-sides with a torrent roaring through an awesome cave culminates in the 'breathing-hole of the fierce god of the Underworld', a huge chasm sending forth deadly fumes. It is in this chasm that Allecto disappears, relieving heaven and earth of her hateful presence. It seems that such a demonic being as Allecto was believed literally to live in the inner parts of the earth. At the same time, the piling-up of images of darkness and danger expresses her being as a principle of evil. Her nature is also described directly: her father who hates her is the lord of the underworld himself, Pluto (327), and her mother is Night (331), the very essence of darkness. Her name means 'unceasingness', expressing her tireless evil energy.[15]

When Allecto reveals herself to Turnus in her true form, that is when in Varronian terms her appearance becomes the 'vessel' of her spirit, she is an Erinys. She is surrounded by hissing snakes (447); two snakes rear up from her hair. When she wants to impart her spirit to Amata, she hurls one of the snakes from her head at the queen and into her (7.346f).[16] The connection between an Erinys and snakes is, of course, Greek. Its symbolic force, however, is also apparent in Virgil's use, for instance, of a snake simile (2.471ff) to express the aggressive evil warrior power of Pyrrhus breaking into the palace of Priam and killing young Polites before his old father's eyes. The snake is aggressive and vicious like Allecto, and like her lives under the earth (2.472). 'Having fed on evil grasses' (471) it is poisonous, just as Allecto is full of poison (7.341, 354).[17] The light of Allecto's eyes is flame *(flammea lumina* 7.448f), and she hurls a smoking torch at and into Turnus (7.456f). The meaning of the torch is explained by her own words: 'I bear wars and death in my hand' (455), and at the end of this scene the image of fire is picked up again in the simile of the flames boiling the water in a cauldron which illustrates Turnus' war fury.[18] Similarly, Allecto 'envelops Amata's bones with fire' (7.355f) when she possesses her. Another instrument of war and death which Allecto carries in her hand is the whip which she cracks (451). Her words are spoken from a 'raving mouth' (451); soon after she exerts her 'Tartarean voice' (514) on the horn which is heard with terror over great distances and calls the farmers to war. Finally, she moves on 'Stygian wings' (476) which are covered with hissing snakes (561). Winged she is capable of being at work swiftly in many places.

There are other spirits which belong to the earth and are similar in character to Allecto. The fury Tisiphone clad in a blood-stained cloak guards the entrance to Tartarus day and night (6.555ff). The 'greatest of Furies' is active within Tartarus in punishing a sinner (6.605). Celaeno, who calls herself 'greatest of Furies' (3.252), rises up 'out of the Stygian waters'.[19] Like Allecto, these spirits belong to or come from the Underworld. Tisiphone 'shakes her scourge and a bunch of snakes when she hounds the guilty towards the opening gate' (6.570ff). The 'greatest fury' raises her torch in threat and 'thunders with her mouth' (6.607), and the voice of the Harpies is 'harsh and terrifying' (*dira* 3.228). Tisiphone rages on the battle field (10.761)[20] in the war caused by Allecto. In Celaeno the image of 'wings' is more fully developed: she is, in fact, a monster with a maiden's head, but a bird's body, wings, and claws. The evil she together with her companions causes is famine by snatching away or fouling food[21] set out for a meal. She also prophesies famine, although this prophecy which originates with Jupiter (3.251) is by him turned into a splendid omen of arrival in Italy (7.110ff).[22] Hunger is also the punishment inflicted by the 'greatest fury' of Tartarus on the sinner under her ministration (6.605f).

Other children of earth are imprisoned in Tartarus (6.580ff): 'Here the ancient offspring of Earth, the Titan youth, cast down by the thunderbolt, wallow in the uttermost depth.' The enforced dwelling place of the Titans implies the supremacy of Jupiter. The Aloidae who tried to dispossess Jupiter, and Salmoneus who dared to imitate Jupiter's thunder and lightning, share the Titans' lot. There follows Tityos who desired Leto and is punished by a vulture eating his liver eternally. He too is a nursling of all-bearing Earth (595) and an offender against the Olympians. The Titans and Tityos have acted as true sons of Earth in fighting the heavenly gods, and consequently—together with others who have done likewise—are condemned to be in Tartarus 'which yawns twice as deep below as the upward gaze rises to ethereal Olympus' (578f9). The depths of the earth are an evil place and filled with evil beings. But those in Tartarus are under control of the punishments ordained by the gods (565). In fact, all the spirits that belong to the earth in some way or other are still under the control of Jupiter, however far they are removed from the summit of the ether. Allecto's activity is limited by Juno's awareness of Jupiter's will.[23] Celaeno's prophecy of disaster is turned to good fortune by Jupiter, as we have seen. Tisiphone and the 'greatest fury' in Tartarus execute justice; Tisiphone on the battlefield acts in a situation controlled by Jupiter.[24] The children of earth punished in Tartarus suffer for their transgressions against the Olympians. Jupiter as the supreme god rules down to the lowest level; as the Cosmic God he permeates the universe with his spirit down to its depths.[25]

Related to the grim spirits of the world's dark bottom is 'Rumour' *(Fama)*, the swiftest evil there is (4.174), also a child of the earth. She rages through the city of Carthage which is shaken by Dido's death (4.666).[26] Her phantastic form—one can hardly call it 'anthropomorphic'—is an expressive 'vessel' for her spirit.

Her strength through mobility, her growth from timid beginnings to gigantic size, her innumerable feathers carrying as many eyes to 'speer' everywhere, and as many tongues, mouths, and ears, her indefatigable work by day and by night, every feature symbolizes her as a spirit or demon of malicious gossip.[27] It is her office to be a messenger of a mixture of distorting lies and of truth. Gleefully she spreads fact and fiction about Dido and Aeneas among the people, and arouses flaming anger in Iarbus, one of Dido's rejected suitors. Rumour says that Dido and Aeneas are spending the winter together in wanton living, forgetful of their kingdoms and caught in the bonds of ugly lust (4.191ff). Rumour's delight in spreading this news implies that she is pleased that Dido and Aeneas are immersed in passion and pay no heed to what they ought to be doing. In this she is a true daughter of Earth. For Rumour is born of passion, because her mother, the Earth, bore her out of evil anger against the gods, and so Rumour is bound to breed passion, which she does in enciting Iarbas to anger. Rumour is the last of Mother Earth's children, as Typhoeus is in Hesiod's *Theogony*.[28] In the *Theogony* the great war of the Olympians with the Titans is finished, and Zeus has hurled his adversaries into Tartarus. The Earth makes a last bid to overthrow the growing power of Zeus and bears Typhoeus. In Hesiod, Mother Earth's anger is expressed by her giving birth to this monster; in the *Aeneid* it is also made explicit: she is 'exasperated by her anger against the gods' (4.178). With this allusion to the *Theogony* of Hesiod,[29] Virgil sets Rumour and her activity into the context of the Olympians' battle with the Titans. The terrific contest of Zeus with Typhoeus and his victory over him finally establishes his supremacy and initiates his rule of justice and peace.[30] In the *Aeneid*, Rumour, born of evil passion, delights in evil passion, and causes it.[31] But before Iarbas comes to the point of action, Jupiter orders Aeneas to leave and so brings passion to a halt so far as Aeneas and Iarbas are concerned: he is supreme in this situation, as Zeus is in the *Theogony*. Thus Rumour, daughter of Earth, both by her action and by the allusion to the *Theogony*, is characterized as evil, allied with evil passion and at variance with Jupiter, who however checks the effects of her action.

The next group of beings that belong to an intermediate region between the innermost parts of the earth and the open air on its surface are those that live in caves.[32] These are the monster Cacus in Book 8 (185ff) and the winds of Aeolus in Book 1 (50ff).

Cacus is only half-human, and a son of Vulcan whose 'dark fires he spat forth from his mouth' (8.194ff); and he indulged in the slaughter of men continually. When Hercules arrived with his cattle, 'the mind of Cacus, savage with furious rage, lest any crime of guile should be left undared or unattempted' (205f6) stole four bulls and four young cows. The consequence is a battle between Cacus and Hercules. In the end Hercules dislodges a mighty rock which forms the roof of Cacus' cave. The cave is uncovered 'just as if, through some force from within, the earth gaping open unlocked the regions below and disclosed the pale kingdom which the gods hate, and a terrible abyss was visible from above, and the shades of the dead fled from the light that poured in' (243ff). The cave of Cacus is like the depths of the underworld: fit dwelling-place for one so bent on crime. Fitly also he fights Hercules by means of darkness: 'he spits from his gullet tremendous smoke (a wonder to relate) and wraps the house in blinding fog, depriving the eyes of any distance of sight, and he piles up the smoke-bearing night within the cave with darkness shot through with fire.' Hercules throttles him to death. In the hymn to Hercules this victory is added to other famous victories of the hero over the two centaurs Hylaeus and Pholus, born from a cloud (293f4), over the Cretan bull and the Nemean lion. The Stygian waters and Cerberus trembled before him. No sight, not even Typhoeus himself, made him afraid, nor was he at a loss how to deal with the Lernaean snake.[33] When, in the concluding line of the hymn, Hercules is greeted as the 'true offspring of Jove' (301), his labours are set beside Jupiter's victory over the Giants and Titans. The monster living in a cave which is like the underworld within the earth is killed by Hercules, true son of his father Jupiter.

It is perhaps also significant that it is in a cave that Dido and Aeneas meet for the first time alone and there consummate their love, against the command of fate to Aeneas and in defiance of Dido's oath of loyalty to her first husband Sychaeus. But we shall return to the whole complexity of this event later.[34]

The storm winds are imprisoned in a vast cave in Aeolia (1.50ff). Full of rebellion they howl in the interior of the mountain. Aeolus is their Lord who 'soothes their high spirits *(animos)* and controls their rage *(iras).*' If he did not do so, they would carry sea, earth, and the infinite sky with them in their headlong rush and sweep them through the air. From fear of this, the almighty Father, Jupiter, hid them in a black cave, piled a mighty load of high mountains on top of them, and set over them a king who should, according as he was commanded, check or release them.

These winds are nowhere directly described in terms of the human body, only indirectly when they are said to be reined in by 'fetters' and the 'prison' of their cave (54). Their actions are largely those of actual storm winds, when they 'rush out of the mountain, and roar over the lands in a whirlstorm, fall upon the sea, and stir it up from the depth', and so on (83ff).[35] On the other hand, the 'mind' or 'spirit' of these winds is quite specific. This is most obvious when Neptune addresses Eurus and Zephyrus (131ff) and rebukes them for their excessive self-confidence. But it is evident throughout: the winds 'wrestle with each other' (*luctantes* 53); they 'object' to their imprisonment (*indignantes* 55); Aeolus has to 'soothe their temper and control their anger', which if given rein would sweep away sea, earth, and heaven (57f). The spirit of the winds is in fact one of aimless violent anger expressed in motion.

Aeolus has his seat on a lofty mountain-top (56f7) holding his sceptre. In a cave within the mountain he keeps the winds imprisoned. He is sufficiently anthropomorphic for Juno to try to bribe him by the promise of a beautiful nymph, but this is not taken up by Aeolus. To release the winds he pushes the butt-end of his spear into the mountain flank and makes a hole. While the Homeric Aeolus is his own master (*Od.* 10.22) the mind or spirit of Aeolus is strictly determined by Jupiter's decree that he should 'know how to suppress or release the winds according to the order given him' (*iussus* 63). Let us note that Jupiter has not stipulated who is to give the command.[36] Aeolus refers to Jupiter's decree when he answers Juno: 'It is right and proper for me to fulfil your command' (*iussa capessere* 77), and he accompanies this obedience with a general expression of servility. All this means that whatever Aeolus does is allowed for by Jupiter, even if it is not immediately in the direction of his supreme aim of taking Aeneas to Italy. When Neptune through the winds gives Aeolus the counter-command, namely to contain himself within the cave of the winds (137ff), this is also in accord with Jupiter's will. If we compare the physical description of Aeolus with his mind and function as an agent, we recognize that his high seat on the mountain, which contains the cave of the winds, and his sceptre symbolize the power that Jupiter has given him over the winds, and that the spear by which he opens up the mountains is a vivid image of his power to release the winds.

The earth as dark interior and a region of black chasms and caves is sinister and evil. But when the earth's surface is the land in which people live, its feel is quite different. The spirits that are, in the most general way in the *Aeneid*, the life of nature on earth and sea are the Fauns and the Nymphs. According to King Latinus indigenous Fauns and Nymphs inhabited the woods on the site which later became the city of Rome (8.314). The safe harbour in which Aeneas lands in Libya ends in a cave or grotto (*antrum* 1.166) below overhanging cliffs: 'Here is [a spring of] water and there are seats of living [i.e. not man-made] rock, the house of nymphs.'[37] 'Nymphs and rivers are closely connected,' as Conington says:[38] Aeneas prays to the nymphs as the 'fountain-heads of rivers'. But they also dwell on the mountain-tops (4.168) and they are often the mothers of great men in mythical times, as of Latinus and Iarbas and others (7.47, 4.198).

Sea-nymphs come to his aid when Aeneas returns from Euander and Etruria ignorant of the danger besetting Ascanius and the Trojans he has left behind in Latium. These nymphs appear to him on his night voyage and warn him of the situation (10.219ff).

The way in which these sea-nymphs come into being by a metamorphosis from the ships of Aeneas is particularly interesting in relation to the difficult juxtaposition of monotheism and polytheism which we have already discussed.[39] There, we tried to envisage this double conception with reference to the *whole* universe: the One cosmic God in relation to the many gods and other creatures and things. Here we can apprehend the same phenomenon on a smaller scale, not with any logical precision, but vividly enough, namely, the relation between the whole sea and its divine spirit, on the one hand, and minor sea-spirits like the sea-nymphs, on the other.

When the Trojan ships are in danger of being set on fire by Turnus (9.69ff), the time has come for Jove to fulfil his promise to Cybele, who had begged for their safety since they are made out of trees from her own sacred mountain Ida. Although the ships are made by mortal hand (95) and so are mortal (101), Jupiter had promised that from those which would safely take Aeneas to Italy he would remove their mortal form, that is, their mortality,[40] and command them to be goddesses of the great sea, just as the Nereids Doto and Galatea cut through the waters which foam at their breast (101ff). This metamorphosis takes place when Cybele gives the command to the ships: 'Go free, go as goddesses of the sea' (*deae pelagi* 117). The ships break their moorings, dive like dolphins into the deep, and reappear as the same number of maiden-forms, that is, as sea-nymphs. This event is referred to again when Aeneas returns to Latium in a striking passage: 'And then in the midst of his course, behold! A choir of his own friends came to meet him: the Nymphs, whom gracious Cybele had commanded to have the *numen* of the sea and to change from ships into nymphs, were swimming alongside and cutting through the water as many in number as had previously stood at the shore as bronze-clad prows' (10.219ff). Here, *numen habere maris* and 'to change from ships into nymphs' (lit. 'to be nymphs from ships') represent complementary aspects of the metamorphosis.

The change in bodily form or appearance is described by Cymothoe: 'The Mother in her mercy made this new shape and granted us to be goddesses and spend our lives below the waves' (234f). The new 'shape' or 'form' (*facies*) is, of course, that of a sea-nymph or Nereid. The poet makes it visually vivid when the nymph follows Aeneas' ship, 'and gripping the stern with her right hand, raised up her body, while her left hand silently paddled the water' (266f).

Conjoined with this 'shape' or 'form' is the immortality or divinity of the nymphs created by Cybele and commanded by Jupiter, which is expressed in so many words, but also by the phrase 'having *numen*'. The same conjunction of *facies* and *numen* occurs in the vision of the gods destroying Troy granted to Aeneas by Venus: 'There were clearly revealed the cruel shapes of the gods and their mighty willpower bent on the destruction of Troy' (*apparent dirae facies inimicaque Troiae/numina magna deum* 2.622f).[41]

While *numen*, as in other Augustan writers, can be more or less synonymous with 'god',[42] its basic meaning is, as Pötscher shows, not an impersonal force, but 'the powerful intended activity of a divinity'.[43] The phrase 'to have *numen*' does not occur elsewhere in Virgil,[44] but the idea is plain enough, when a god or goddess can speak of 'his' or 'her' *numen* or *numina*.[45] When Juno says that her *numina* are not great enough and that they lie prostrate and tired, she thinks of the various directions in which her *numen* has gone into action already—in vain.[46] The blurring of the division between one and many is even here apparent.

The phrase '*numen* of the sea' occurs in the *Aeneid* also when, after the disaster of the Trojan women setting the ships on fire, 'even those want to go on [*scil.* to Italy] to whom once the sight *(facies)* of the sea seemed cruel and its *numen* unbearable' (5.768).[47] Here the 'sight' or 'form' which the Trojans face is the whole elemental body of the sea and its *numen* of which they are afraid is its spirit, a personal power unbearably hard at times when bent on destruction. Virgil does not use any allegory here of Neptune or smaller sea-spirits: the actual element of the water is what frightens the Trojans. The *numen* of the sea as a whole is *one*. When the ships, turned nymphs or goddesses, have the sea's *numen* they each have the sea's personal spirit and power to act, the 'vessel' for each nymph being her sea-maiden's body. The one *numen* of the great sea has become many, while still remaining the one *numen* of the sea.

The only nymph who plays a fuller part in the *Aeneid* is Juturna (12.138ff), originally an ancient Italian lake nymph or goddess. Varro[48] in the 14th book of his *Res Divinae* placed her 'between the proper gods and the nymphs'. He also derives her name from *iuuare*, 'to help';[49] according to Servius, her waters were particularly beneficial. But Varro's etymology (whatever it is worth) and his view of her rank in divinity have clearly gone to the making of Virgil's Juturna. She is the sister of Turnus, loves him and wants to help him, herself born mortal but made a goddess by Jupiter in return for her virginity.[50] By Jupiter's gift her domain are the lakes and running streams. Her concern is primarily a sister's love, but it is also the concern of a river for the inhabitants of the land through which its waters flow. This is why Juno, addressing her as 'Water-spirit, most dear to my heart, pride of the rivers' goes on to say, 'I have shielded your walls and your brother' (12.148). The city of Latinus for which Turnus fights is Juturna's, too, to defend. But her main motive is her great love for Turnus. Here, a 'water-spirit', a spirit belonging to the Latin native land, is represented with human affection and grief. When she realizes that it is Jupiter's will that Turnus must now die, 'the goddess veiled her face in her grey-green mantle'—image of the water's colour'—'And heavily sighing, vanished into the depths of the river' (12.885f).

Just as Juturna tries to help the doomed Turnus, her brother, so the River God Tiberinus appears to Aeneas in a dream vision and welcomes him to Latium. Tiberinus is described as the 'god himself of the place' (8.31) with his lovely poplar-lined waters, wrapt in a sparkling mantle of fine linen and his hair shaded by a covering of reeds. Here the god's anthropomorphic presentation is a 'vessel' both for the natural phenomenon of the river and for his divine spirit. His outfit, that is, the poplar leaves around him, the colour and texture of his cloak, and his headcover of reeds, symbolizes the waters and banks of the actual river. In so far as he is like a human being he is, like Juturna, an individualized part of the cosmic god's spirit, but closer to his will. That he is on Jupiter's side is implied when he majestically introduces himself as 'heaven-blue Tiber, river most dear to heaven'.[51] Just as the Scamander of the Trojan plain tries to protect the fleeing Trojans against the pursuing Achilles (*Iliad* 21.136ff), the Tiber is concerned for Aeneas whose descendants will settle on his banks.

The sea is both a physical body, namely a mass of water, and a spirit with human body, namely the god Neptune. Neptune, brother of Juno (1.130) and also of Jupiter, and one of the great traditional gods, is fully anthropomorphic: he lifts his 'gentle head'[52] out of the top of a wave (127); he 'sees' (128) the scattered fleet of Aeneas; he calls the winds, and severely sends them home (131ff); he smoothes out the wild waters, chases away the clouds and brings back the sun (142f); he uses his trident as a lever to ease the grounded ships off the rocks, thus assisting his helpers Cymothoe and Triton; he drives smoothly over the top of the waves with light wheels. Finally, 'travelling along under the cloudless sky he controls his horses, and flying along in the obedient chariot gives them full rein' (155f). This is a detailed visual presentation of the movements and action of a god with a human, if super-human body. The mind of Neptune is described directly when he is said to be well aware of the deceit and anger of his sister Juno (130), and when he scolds the winds (132ff). He insists that 'the kingdom over the sea and the cruel trident is his own' *(imperium pelagi saeuumque tridentem* 138). In this line Virgil places the physical emblem, the trident, side by side with the spiritual power symbolized by it, which is supremacy over the sea. Correspondingly, all Neptune's bodily actions symbolize the god bringing the raging sea under control and ending the storm, and thus working against Juno's anger. Neptune's body is on the one hand elemental, in fact the sea; on the other it is anthropomorphic, that is, the symbolic 'vessel' for his spirit. What manner of spirit Neptune is, is shown most clearly in the simile (148ff).

This simile which forms the climax of the storm is unique 'Just as when in a great people, rebellion has arisen many times over and the hearts of the worthless throng are full of savagery, and when fire-brands and stones are flying already, and fury supplies arms, and when then they suddenly see some man weighty in authority through his piety and his achievements, they fall silent and stand listening closely, thus the whole uproar of the sea subsided after the Father looking out over the waters and travelling along under the cloudless sky controlled his horses, and flying along in the obedient chariot gave them full rein.'[53] What is illuminated by this simile is the natural event of the storm and its conclusion. In all other Virgilian and Homeric similes natural events from the simile. Therefore, something quite specific and novel must be intended here: Virgil indicates to his reader an underlying meaning, namely that in this uproar of winds and sea we see the 'true gods' at work. These 'true gods' are parts of the cosmos, that is, of the Cosmic God; and we see through this simile explicitly what manner of spirits they are. For the storm winds are likened to a raging rebellious mob utterly ruled by passion; and Neptune, the controlling spirit of the sea, is likened to a man of piety and merit. This picks up and intensifies the characters of the winds and of Neptune as we have seen them to be represented. Here is then a scene of cosmic turmoil and pacification, the agents being the passionate winds let loose by their controller, Aeolus, and the sea churned up by these winds, and then calmed by its own worthy and peaceful spirit, Neptune. Here Winds and Sea are not merely poetically personified and not merely symbolic of the passion of uncontrolled anger and symbolic of the control of such fury, but they are, in fact, live beings with individual spirits good and bad and with elemental bodies. They are parts of the living Cosmos and so 'true gods'. The fact that they are parts of the One Cosmos, the one living Cosmic God, is expressed on this, the pluralistic, side by the way in which the competence of Aeolus is determined by Jupiter and by the way in which Jupiter's brother Neptune counters the uproar caused by Juno. Ultimately Jupiter is in control of it. His all-pervading spirit and will, here as always, is what binds the universe together.

Spread out above sea and earth is *aër,* the dark air. There is nothing arbitrary about Juno using Aeolus and his winds for her first attack on the Trojans. The winds are cave-dwellers when they are kept 'at home', but their region of activity when let loose is the 'air' *(aër),* and according to the ancient 'physical allegory'

Juno *is* the air.[54] The identification of this dark, often cloudy and stormy sphere with Juno and her unceasing anger is completely appropriate. According to Heinze,[55] when Aeolus feels obliged to Juno for his kingship over the winds (1.78ff), it is a hint by the poet in this direction. Juno herself causes a hailstorm with thunder to descend upon Dido's hunting-party (4.120). Sending Iris down from the sky to the Trojan women, 'she blows winds upon her as she goes' (5.607). Jupiter, in a similar situation, tells Mercury to call the Zephyrs and then to glide down on his wings (4.223); he does not himself produce the winds, though he, too, can release a rainstorm when he intends to save the burning ships of Aeneas (5.693ff). Returning from Argos, Juno ' "holds the air riding upon it", as upon a chariot' (7.287).[56] When she leaves the sky in order to save Turnus temporarily, wrapt in a cloud she drives a storm through the air on her way down to the Trojans and Italians (10.633ff). In their final meeting (12.791ff) Jupiter addresses Juno 'as she watches the fighting from a tawny cloud'. He asks her what hope it is that makes her tarry 'in the chilly clouds' (796), and in her reply she says he would not see her 'on her airy seat' (*aëria . . . sede* 810) except under dire compulsion. The scene concludes with Juno withdrawing from the sky and 'leaving the cloud' and in doing so she also gives up her anger against the Trojans. Juno is, of course, not restricted to the 'air', 'her element', as Servius calls it.[57] Aeneas sees Juno fighting successfully at the Scaean Gate (2.612) when the gods destroy Troy. She also comes to Olympus when Jupiter calls an assembly (10.62,760), but she does not act from there. In fact, she expressly leaves when she goes to save Turnus (10.633f). Juno, in the *Aeneid,* is much more than the sphere of the 'air' in a physical sense. But if it is realized that this universe is pervaded by the spirit of the Cosmic God and therefore 'animate' in every part of it, then the sphere of the 'air', like any other part, is also 'animate', and its dark and stormy nature would be felt as hostile and angry. There are in the passages quoted above enough indications to show that Virgil saw Juno in the light of that ancient 'allegory'.

The air is the region of the universe through which the divine messengers of the Olympians pass on their way to earth. It is striking that Iris is the messenger of Juno, used once only (9.803)[58] by Jupiter, while Mercury is the messenger of Jupiter. In Homer's *Iliad* Iris is *the* divine messenger usually sent by Zeus; once she is sent secretly by Hera (18.166ff). Hermes, the Greek counterpart of Mercury, is in the *Iliad* not strictly a messenger, but one who escorts Priam on his dangerous mission to Achilles at Zeus' behest (Book 24.330ff). In the *Odyssey* (5.28ff)[59] he is sent to Calypso by Zeus who refers explicitly to his office as a messenger, while in the last book he escorts the spirits of the dead suitors into the Underworld. Iris does not occur. What is the meaning of Virgil's distinction between Mercury as Jupiter's messenger and Iris as the messenger of Juno? The Greek word *iris* means the 'rainbow', and it is the connection of this meaning with rain and clouds that Virgil uses. Taking pity on Dido's protracted death-struggle, Juno sends Iris to release her:

> 'So now, all dewy, her pinions the colour of yellow crocus,
> Her wake a thousand rainbow hues refracting the sunlight,
> Iris flew down. . . .'
>
> (4.700ff)

While here her activity is kindly even though it brings about death, sent by Juno to the Trojan women (5.606ff) she is 'not ignorant of causing harm' (618).[60] She swiftly runs down 'along the arc of a thousand colours' (609); and when on leaving the bewildered women she wants to stir them into setting fire to the ships by a prodigy, she spreads her wings and 'cut a giant rainbow beneath the clouds as she went' (658).[61] The same description is used when Iris is sent to Turnus by Juno (9.14f) to incite him to attack the Trojan camp in Aeneas's absence. While in the first passage Iris is herself the rainbow, in the other two the rainbow is her path. The fact that Iris is associated with the rainbow, a phenomenon inseparable from clouds and dark misty air, and that she is 'not ignorant of doing harm' makes her a fitting messenger for Juno as the divinity of the air and full of wrath.

Jupiter has two messengers strongly contrasted in character. The messenger who effects what is good and beneficial is Mercury, the one who brings terror, disease, and death is the 'Cruel Goddess', the *Dira.* Mercury is the son of Jupiter and 'interpreter of the gods' (4.223,356). The emblems which indicate the nature of this spirit are his winged sandals and his staff.[62] The golden sandals which he ties under his feet carry him 'high up on wings' (240,252) over sea and earth with the speed of wind. The fact that this is a translation from Homer (*Od.* 5.44ff) does not invalidate a symbolic interpretation of Varro's sort: the Romans of the first century B.C. would, as we have seen,[63] read Homer in the same way as the *Aeneid.* Mercury's wings, like those of Iris, symbolize his passage through space. But the fact that his wings are attached to sandals makes him more definitely anthropomorphic than Iris is. The simile comparing him to a bird plunging down to the sea and flying close to the water (254f) picks up the image of the winged sandals. The swift bird's flight is the visible picture of the speed of this spirit carrying Jupiter's message to the earth. His second emblem is his staff, the functions of which are described more fully by Virgil than by Homer. Homer mentions the staff of Hermes only as his means of putting men asleep and waking them up,[64] though Hermes also uses it to drive the spirits of the dead suitors into the Underworld.[65] In Virgil's description Mercury with his staff brings about the rebirth of the dead,[66] death of the living, sleep and waking, and again the beginning of rebirth.[67] As I presently hope to show, rebirth means descent through the air to earth, and death ascent through the air.[68] In sleep the spirit is 'called apart from the fellowship and contact with the body'[69] and keeps company with the multitude of the spirits in the air.[70] Death and rebirth, falling asleep, and waking up implied for the Romans a movement of human spirits up and down in the air. The function of Mercury's staff is to symbolize the god as a spirit who controls and guides the traffic of spirits in the air.

While the flight of Iris through the air is associated with the rainbow, Mercury's flight is connected with a mountain, Mount Atlas, which is situated not far from Carthage. On his flight from Olympus Mercury lands on top of this mountain, which is described as an old long-suffering man, his pine-bearing head wrapped in clouds and beaten by wind and rain, his shoulders covered with snow and his shaggy beard stiff with ice. From here Mercury plummets down to the sea and flies to Libya, 'coming from his maternal grandfather' (4.258). What is the meaning of all this?[71] As Virgil says, Mercury is the grandson of Atlas, his mother being Maia, daughter of Atlas; his father is Jupiter (4.223,238). The natures of his father and his maternal grandfather, of Jupiter and Atlas, are not as unconnected as they may seem at first glance. Jupiter's abode is, as we shall see in detail, in the sky, at the top of the ether among the stars (10.3). Atlas, 'the sky-bearer pivots the Wheeling heavens, embossed with fiery stars, on his shoulder' (6.796f). In Dido's hall, Iopas sings about the moon and the sun, the origin of living things, of rain and fire, about certain stars and why the nights are longer in winter than in summer; and all this astronomy and cosmology he was taught by great Atlas (1.741).[72] Just as Atlas carrying the sky and teaching his knowledge about the stars forms a pillar between earth and heaven, so Mercury, son of the Lord of Heaven, links heaven and earth by taking his father's message down to Aeneas. Interpreted in this way, Mercury's stop on Mount Atlas, 'his maternal grandfather', ingeniously expresses his character as Jupiter's own messenger to men.[73]

But Jupiter also has a messenger of terror and death. Surprisingly, at his very throne on the threshold of the severe king are attendant spirits who stem from the bottom of the universe: they are the two 'Cruel Ones', the *Dirae* (12.845). Night bore them at midnight together with Tartarean Megaera and bound them round with the same coils of snakes and gave them wind-swift wings. Megaera is one of the Furies like Tisiphone and Allecto.[74] But although the two Cruel Ones stem from the lower world, they work for Jupiter from on high. Their descent from the very depth of night, their serpent coils and rushing wings are the 'vessel' of their spirit:[75] they sharpen the edge of fear for sick mortals when the king of the gods sends death and disease or terrifies cities with war according to their deserts.[76] These powers of darkness are still destructive in accord with their birth, but living in the highest ether they are the servants of Jupiter, and any destruction they bring is by his command. This is modelled on Hesiod's *Theogony* (383ff). Styx, hateful goddess of the underworld, brings forth 'Power' and 'Strength' *(Kratos* and *Bia);* and she takes them up to Olympus to Zeus to be his attendants wherever he goes. For the god of justice, peace, and good laws needs power and force to maintain his supremacy.

The dwelling place of Jupiter himself is the uppermost part of the ether. When he appears for the first time in the *Aeneid* (1.223) looking down 'from the top of the ether' on sea, land, and people, he halts on the summit of the heaven,[77] and fixes his gaze on Libya. It is here that Venus speaks to him; and it is from here that Jupiter sends Mercury to Dido. Again, when Jupiter for the last time in the *Aeneid* influences the action of men (12.853), he sends *Dira* down 'from the top of the ether' to stop Juturna from helping Turnus. In Book 11 (726), Jupiter 'sits high up on the top of Olympus' and from there incites Tarchon to fight Camilla. No one except Jupiter is described as being at the top of the ether, and only he sends a messenger down from there, namely the *Dira.* The abode of Jupiter is the setting of the only divine assembly in the *Aeneid,* at the beginning of Book 10. It is introduced with great solemnity and a mysterious suggestiveness: 'Meanwhile the house opens of almighty Olympus' (*panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi* 10.1).[78] The summit of Mount Olympus is in the ether

(10.621), the topmost region of the universe. Virgil, in fact, identifies Olympus with the heavens when he says later, 'and the gentle moon's Night-riding horses were pacing halfway across the heavens', literally, 'halfway across Olympus' (10.216). On the other hand, the attribute 'almighty' *(omnipotens)* is regularly used of Jupiter himself. When, therefore, Virgil speaks of 'the house of almighty Olympus', he speaks of Jupiter who *is* the heaven, the ethereal summit of the universe, mighty beyond all bounds, 'the eternal power over men and the universe' (*hominum rerumque aeterna potestas* 10.18), as Venus calls him. At this climax of his epic, Virgil for a moment sheds the anthropomorphic form of his god and lets him flash out as the cosmic spiritual energy that he is, filling the uppermost space of the world.

Once again in Book 10 (758ff), the assembled gods are briefly described, before the crucial duel between Aeneas and Mezentius. Jupiter is not mentioned as a personal presence. He is present as his house, in which the gods are assembled to watch the fighting on earth, among the others Venus on one side and Juno on the other. Jupiter in this image represents, as Wlosok suggests, 'the highest, as it were, and the completely comprehensive idea which both contains and unites within himself all gods'.[79] Jupiter's 'house' is, in fact, a symbol for Jupiter as the Cosmic God.

The presentation of Jupiter is anthropomorphic only to some extent.[80] At his first appearance, he 'looked down' from on high, he 'stopped' at the summit of the heaven and 'fastened his gaze on the kingdom of Libya' (1.224ff, cf. 4.220). He was already 'voicing such cares in his heart' when Venus brought her cares before him tearful and full of fear. He smiled to her and kissed her gently. When the smile of his face, turned upon Venus, is said 'to make the sky and the weather serene' (1.255),[81] the power of Jupiter, which can still a storm as Neptune has done, here stills his divine daughter's cares. Or again he nods his head with might, making Olympus tremble, and rises from his golden chair accompanied to the threshold by all the gods (10.115ff).[82]

The spirit and the power of this highest god appear most clearly in the decisive words with which he concludes the only assembly of the gods in the *Aeneid* (10.111–3). Since many scholars have, often to their own dismay, found the Jupiter of this assembly a very disappointing person, his final utterances in the scene must at this point be interpreted in detail. Misinterpretation and depreciation have played havoc with the image of Jupiter in this most important passage.[83]

On concluding his speech Jupiter nods confirmation 'by the river of his Stygian brother and its banks burning with pitch and black swirling water, and by his nod shakes the whole of Olympus.' (10.113ff). The oath by Styx and the nod which makes Mount Olympus tremble are two mighty Homeric motifs which are here combined.

In the first book of the *Iliad* Thetis comes to Zeus and implores him to avenge Achilles on Agamemnon and the other Greeks. Zeus replies that he will fulfill her wish even against the will of Hera. He says (524ff): 'I will nod to you with my head so that you may trust me. For this is my greatest sign among the immortals. For to whatever I nod assent with my head, that cannot be taken back or deceived or remain unaccomplished.' Thereupon the mighty nod is described. Zeus' will does in fact determine the action—even though it is temporarily delayed by Hera's deceit—right up to the battle for the ships. The oath by the water of Styx is 'the greatest and the most dread oath for the blessed gods', as Calypso says (*Od.* 5.185f). The punishment meted out to a god who breaks an oath by Styx is described in full in Hesiod's *Theogony* (793ff): he lies in a swoon for a year, and then has to undergo labour after labour far away from the company of the Olympian gods for nine years.

Virgil could not have made it plainer that he meant the words of Jupiter to be fulfilled. On the face of it, it is therefore quite incredible that these words could bear little meaning and that this scene should be without an effect on the action. As a matter of fact, Jupiter's words show what manner of divinity he is and determine the action to the very end of the epic.[84]

Jupiter's concluding speech culminates in three brief statements: *sua cuique exorsa laborem fortunamque ferent. rex Jupiter omnibus idem. fata uiam inuenient.* The first sentence lays down the primacy of human action, for 'whatever each man initiates will bring him his toil and his fortune.' Secondly, *rex Jupiter omnibus idem.* This sentence is the crux of the matter. It is generally assumed to express the impartiality of Jupiter. Büchner e.g. translates it as 'The word of Jupiter is the same for all'.[85] Here *idem* is taken to be predicative; *rex* is considered as so unimportant that it is not even translated. This means presumably that *rex Jupiter* is taken to mean 'king Jupiter' in much the same way as Virgil speaks of *rex Aeolus* (1.52), *rex Anius* (3.80), or *rex Euandros* (8.185). An alternative is to take *rex* as the predicate: 'Jupiter is king', on the pattern of *rex erat Aeneas nobis* (1.544);

this would imply an assertion of supreme power on the part of Jupiter, an idea which would be in harmony with his 'nod'. Next the question arises whether *idem* goes with *rex* or with *Jupiter.* In the sentence *idem amor exitium pecori pecorisque magistro* (*Ecl.* 3.101), *idem* goes unambiguously with *amor,* and the structure corresponds to our sentence rearranged as *idem Jupiter rex omnibus.* Lewis and Short speak of the particular use of *idem* 'when two predicates are referred to the same subject'. In the line from *Ecl.* 3 two datives which are contrasted in sense refer back to one and the same subject, namely *amor,* which is 'death' to them both. In our *Aeneid* passage, the dative *omnibus,* which implies a great multitude, refers back to one and the same Jupiter. It may be objected that *Georg.* 3.244 is a better parallel: *amor omnibus idem,* translated as 'love is the same for them all' [scil. both men and beasts]. But first, there is no other predicative word except *idem,* while we assume *rex* to be predicative. Secondly, it becomes very doubtful whether *idem* is predicative even in *Georg.* 3.244 when one compares *Aen.* 3.60 *omnibus idem animus scelerata excedere terra,* 'all are of the same mind to leave the evil country'. *Georg.* 3.244 might be better translated as: 'they all have the same mind' or 'the same mind possesses them all'. It might also be objected that the word-order, that is the separation of *idem* from *Jupiter,* suggests predicative function. But *Aen.* 4.581[36] invalidates this: *idem omnes simul ardor habet,* 'the same eager desire possesses them all'. *Idem* goes unambiguously with *ardor.* It is placed at the beginning, away from *ardor,* for emphasis and in order to be juxtaposed to *omnes* for the sake of contrast. In our *Aeneid* passage *idem* is placed at the end of the line for the sake of emphasis and contrast to *omnibus.* The second sentence of Jupiter's great concluding utterance means then: 'One and the same Jupiter is king for everybody.' This statement supports the first statement. It means that Jupiter's rule is supreme, and that his word about the freedom of man's initiative in the events to come cannot be invalidated. The implication here is that Juno or Venus or anybody else cannot now initiate any action for Turnus or Aeneas. The quarrel between Juno and Venus, it is true, is not settled, but it has become unimportant: the decision does not lie in their hands. Jupiter here asserts his universal kingship, and out of the abundance of his power he hands over the decision to man: free will is the gift of the almighty god, and it is limited in time.

It is interseting to compare the utterance of Jupiter with the speech of Zeus in *Iliad* 8.5ff. Here Zeus explicitly forbids the gods and goddesses to take part in the battle, and he reinforces his words by a mighty assertion of his power. He will hurl into Tartarus any of them who tries to contravene his command; and his power is so great that if all the gods and goddesses were to try to pull him down out of his heaven by a golden rope, he could not be moved; on the contrary, he would pull them all, including the whole earth, upward, and tie them all to a cliff of Mount Olympus. No wonder that Virgil did not imitate this in detail. It is only a pity that his, so much subtler, utterance has not been understood.

Finally Jupiter says: 'Fate will find a way.' Virgil has used this phrase before, in a much simpler context, which may give us a clue to its meaning. The Harpy Celaeno has prophesied that before the Trojans can build a wall round their city, 'cruel hunger and the wrong done in killing some of the Harpies will compel them to gnaw at their tables with their jaws and consume them.' (3.255ff). This fills the Trojans with fear. But when Helenus sings his prophecy to them he says: 'Do not be afraid of future bites at your tables. Fate will find a way, and Apollo if called will be present' (3.394ff). The way which Fate in fact finds is most ingenious (7.107ff). Having arrived at the site of what was to become Lavinium, the Trojans had a meal, laying their food on spelt cakes. When the small meal was eaten, they were still hungry and also devoured the cakes; and young Julus said: 'Alas, we are even eating our tables.' This is joyfully recognized as an omen indicating the end of the road: 'This was the hunger she meant; this was the last and worst thing that awaited us which would put an end to our anguish' (128f). Here it is almost a trick by which Fate brings about the literal meaning of the prophecy in such a way that the terror implied in the prophecy and expected with trembling is turned to joy. *Fata uiam inuenient* means then that Fate will find a way of fulfilling what was prophesied. In Jupiter's speech in Book 10 this means that Fate will find a way towards fulfilling Jupiter's stipulation that each man's own action will bring about his toil and his fortune. It also means that by complying with Jupiter's will Fate will find a way towards its own fulfilment.

In these three final, brief, and majestic utterances Jupiter gives expression to his power and his will. He is, indeed, the 'eternal power over all men and things', as Venus addresses her father (10.17), and he is the 'Father Almighty who has supreme power over all things', as Virgil calls him (10.100). He is the 'king of all' there is. When he wishes to assert his power, gods and men and even the fates have to do his bidding. But, more than that, Jupiter here exercises his supreme power for the purpose of giving freedom of initiative to Aeneas and Turnus so that neither will be driven on by a superhuman Being, but each one will act out of what he really is and so be punished or rewarded according to his own free actions. By this decree Jupiter reveals himself as a god of justice in relation to men.

Thus, at the top of the universe, in the brightest part of the ether dwells Jupiter, all powerful, supreme even over fate, and concerned to do justice to men at the crucial moments of their lives. The 'starry seat' (10.3) to which Jupiter calls the council of the gods is the ether. The stars which are alive and have mental awareness like the ether (*conscius* 4.167; 4.519, 9.429) are in the ether (5.517, 838) and are fed by it (*polus dum sidera pascet* 1.608).[87] This region of the stars and of the ether is also the final dwelling-place of the great human beings who by the merit of their lives have won immortality. Jupiter promises to Venus that she will carry 'great-hearted Aeneas up to the stars of the heaven' (1.259). When Dido repents of her disloyalty to Sychaeus, she knows that by her fidelity to him alone she could have reached the stars (4.322). When Ascanius has shot his first enemy in battle, Apollo praises him, saying: 'This is how you go to the stars, son of gods and father of gods!' (9.641).[88] The belief that a great soul might actually become a star is rare in Virgil. The 'father's star' (*sidus patrium* 8.681) which appears over Augustus on the Shield of Aeneas may be the soul of Caesar and therefore more than a symbol of his deification.[89] But on the whole in the *Aeneid* the upper ether is the region of Jupiter and the other Olympians, if they are with him; and it is the region of the spirits of great men and women who have won immortality.[90]

So far the region of the universe between the earth and Olympus appears to be characterized mainly by darkness, and also by light and worth increasing as it rises to the summit. But is it empty? Is it a great vacant space through which only Mercury and other gods and goddesses fly up and down? The answer is that it is full of the spirits of the dead who dwell at all the different levels of this great space. Anchises describes the lot of the dead in his first speech of Book 6, subsequently to his description of the universe.

735 Yes, not even when the last flicker of life has left us,
Does evil, or the ills that flesh is heir to, quite

> Relinquish our souls; it must be that many a taint grows deeply,
> Mysteriously grained in their being from long contact with the body.
> Therefore the dead are disciplined in purgatory, and pay
> The penalty of old evil: some hang, stretched to the blast of
> Vacuum wind; for others, the stain of sin is washed
> Away in a vast whirlpool or cauterized with fire.
> Each of us finds in the next world his own level.
> 744 Then we are sent through broad Elysium, and a few of us stay
> In the happy fields; until, in the fullness of time, the ages
> Have purged that ingrown stain, and nothing is left but pure
> Ethereal sentience and the spirit's essential flame.
> All these souls, when they have finished their thousand-year cycle,
> God sends for, and they come in crowds to the river of Lethe,
> So that, you see, with memory washed out, they may revisit
> The earth above and begin to wish to be born again.[91]

When life has departed (6.735), man's spirit bears deeply engrained the taint of having lived in the body. Therefore, the spirits of the dead are disciplined by punishments and pay the penalty of old misdeeds (739f). This purification takes place, as Norden has shown,[92] in the atmosphere above the earth. Some spirits are stretched out to be cleansed by the winds; the deep-seated crime of others is washed out under a huge mass of water or it is burned out by fire (740ff). The purification takes place under the impact of the three elements of air, water, and fire, which being lighter than earth but heavier than ether are encountered by the ascending soul. The location of winds and torrential rain is obvious. Fire, too, is either the region immediately below that of ether or further down caused by the effect of winds on clouds.[93] After suffering punishment in these regions according to their individual lives, all spirits are sent through Elysium, described by Anchises in Book 5 (734f) as 'the lovely assemblies of the good'. A few, among them Anchises, remain there until in the fulness of time they are completely purified so that they are nothing but mind consisting of ether and fire of pure breeze (747).[94] This substance corresponds closely to the substance which Cicero describes[95] as filling the region in which the soul in its ascent comes to rest, having reached a sphere commensurate with its own nature. We must assume that the spirits in Elysium who are thus completely purified will ascend beyond Elysium to the sphere of the stars. For those who are deified rise up to the stars. All the other spirits are called by the god to the river Lethe, the river of 'Forgetting', and will enter again into an earthly life, that is, they will descend again from the Lethe river down to the earth.

In the *Aeneid* as a whole, apart from Book 6, Virgil's view about the dwelling places of the dead fits into this picture, though not without exception.

The great men who are deified for their achievements rise up into the sky into the sphere of the stars, as we have seen.[96] Elysium where Anchises dwells is situated in the sky. When the 'form of Anchises' (5.722) appears to Aeneas by night to tell him to visit him in the world beyond, this is how it is described: 'Then the form of Father Anchises appeared to glide down from the sky and suddenly to pour forth words such as these.'[97] What happens when ordinary mortals die? When Dido places a curse on herself (4.25) she asks the Almighty Father to 'drive her with his lightning to the pale shades in Erebus and into deep night'. *Erebus* often refers to the 'Underworld', but also simply means 'darkness'. When Dido dies, 'her life receded into the winds' (4.705). When Lausus dies, 'his life sadly went away through the breezes to the spirits of the dead and left the body' (10.819f). His father Euander does not seek for the joys of life, but wants to bring joy for his son to the nethermost 'death-spirits' or 'the ghosts of the dead below'—a vague expression which could mean 'below the earth' or 'still close to the earth, before ascending upwards'.

When both Camilla and Turnus die, their 'life escapes with a sigh angrily to the shades' (11.828ff, 12.952). Here, 'shade' is both the ghost of a dead person and the darkness. All these passages either refer to a place above the earth or are ambiguous.

However, when Turnus decides to stop evasion and to fight Aeneas, he addresses the spirits of the dead, since the will of those on high is against him, and he says: 'I shall descend to you with my soul hallowed and ignorant of that guilt nor unworthy ever of my forebears.' Here, a 'descent' is explicitly mentioned (12.649).[98]

Finally, and once only, the realm of the dead is described as being in the depth of the earth; and that occurs in a simile. Hercules has, after a long fight, succeeded at last in tearing the mighty covering rock from the top of Cacus' cave and the cave is uncovered, 'just as if through some force from within the earth gaping open unlocked the regions below and disclosed the pale kingdom which the gods hate, and a terrible abyss was visible from above, and the shades of the dead fled from the light that poured in' (8.243ff). As this description of the Underworld is in a simile and contains allusions to passages in the battle of the gods in the *Iliad* (20.61ff) and the battle between Zeus and Typhoeus in the *Theogony* (850), it is clearly mythical and not decisive for Virgil's view of the region of the dead.

On the whole, then, the evidence of the *Aeneid*, apart from Book 6, chimes with Anchises' description. It is, however, possible for a character in the epic to speak of his death as a 'descent'.

But apart from the words of Anchises quoted above, Book 6 of the *Aeneid*, with its description of the realm of the dead, on the face of it cuts right across this picture of the universe. For Virgil's realm of the dead, his 'Hades', is entered through a cave, and comprises not only a crossing of the 'Underworld' river, the dark region of the 'Fields of mourning', a view of the gates of Tartarus which is a deep gulf of punishment for evil deeds, but also the Elysian Fields, 'filled with an ampler ether and brilliant light', the abode of the pure; and all this is described in such a way that it appears to be within the bowels of the earth. The Sibyl speaks of the 'descent' to the world of the dead as easy (*facilis descensus Auerno* 126), and Aeneas is said to 'descend' to his father, to the nethermost shades of Erebus (404).[99] This is, of course, the traditional tale which goes back to Book 11 of the *Odyssey* in its framework, some of its mythical population and some poetic ideas, and to other later sources. It is myth: does Virgil intend his reader to catch another meaning beyond it?

What is the relationship between this conception of the afterlife as a 'descent' into the Underworld as described by Virgil in the main body of Book 6 and the ascent of the soul, as described by Anchises and as believed to be the truth by Cicero and many others?

The direction in which the answer lies has been indicated by Norden, with reference to definite passages in Book 6,[100] and more comprehensively by Boyancé.[101] The Virgilian 'Underworld' is an allegorical myth the deeper meaning, the truth of which is hinted at here and there, discernible only to him who can enter the 'mystery of the teaching', as Varro would call it. The long-standing tradition of 'allegorical' interpretation of Homer both in Greece from the sixth century B.C. on and in the Graeco-Roman world has been described earlier. In order to make it plausible that such an interpretation was Virgil's intention for his own description of the Underworld, we must look for hints by the poet himself meant to lead us in that direction.

My hypothesis in what follows will be: that the apparent 'descent' of Aeneas and the dead in general is an 'allegorical' myth the underlying real meaning of which is an 'ascent' of the soul into the sky.

The suggestion that this journey into the Beyond must not be taken literally is most explicit at the end. Aeneas and the Sibyl leave the 'Underworld' through one of the Gates of Sleep (893ff). The gate made of horn is the gate through which 'true shades', that is, the ghosts of the dead leave for the purpose, for instance, of appearing to mortals in a dream, as Hector did to Aeneas in Book 2 or Anchises in Book 5. Through the ivory gate, the spirits of the dead send forth 'false dreams'. It is through this gate that Anchises sends out Aeneas and the Sibyl. Was Aeneas' passage through the 'Underworld' a dream? The imagery strongly suggests it. At the end of Scipio's vision in Cicero's *Somnium*, Scipio is 'released from sleep' *(somno solutus)*. But why a 'false' dream? Because it cannot, like a 'true dream', come true in the form in which it is told by the poet. On the face of it—apart from Anchises' words—it is all a lie, as Servius says. It is a myth which needs interpretation. Here the poet issues a strong warning against any misunderstanding which might lead to accusing him of superstition.[103]

Where is the beginning of this dream? It must be at the point at which Aeneas and the Sibyl enter the region of the dead. But it is not there represented as a dream. What is it? The great temple of Cumae to which Aeneas comes at the beginning of Book 6 belongs to both Apollo and his sister Triuia (9 and 13), and the Sibyl is the priestess of both of them (35). Accordingly, the Sibyl and Aeneas encounter both deities, first Apollo, then Triuia. While the presentation of the two encounters in its imagery, elaboration, and content is very different, the basic elements are the same. In each case, a mighty cave is the place of encounter (42, 237).

First, Aeneas approaches Apollo as the god of prophecy. The Sibyl prescribes sacrifices (38f); we are not told about their execution, but they are taken as performed. As the Sibyl approaches the threshold of the cave, she says: 'It is time to ask for your destiny. The god! Behold the god!' This indicates an epiphany of Apollo, not visible, but felt as a violent impact by the priestess whose 'heart swells in fierce madness' and whose whole appearance changes terrifyingly as 'she is breathed upon by the god's power who is now drawing nearer'. She urges Aeneas to pray to the god, and then prophesies out of the god's possession of her. When her 'raging' has ceased (102), Aeneas speaks to her.[103]

His second request is to be allowed to visit the spirit of his father Anchises in the 'Underworld', the realm of Hecate or Proserpina (247,251),[104] who is identified with Triuia or Diana. When the Golden Bough is procured and Misenus is buried, Aeneas and the Sibyl are again in front of a huge cave, more awesome and terrible than the first. Sacrifices are made, as the Sibyl commanded (153), of black animals; sacrifices to Hecate, Earth, Night, Proserpina, and the Stygian king. But it is Hecate whom the Sibyl 'calls with her voice' (247). Again the word *ecce*, 'Behold' (255) introduces the deity's epiphany,[105] the ground roars underfoot just before dawn, the mountain passes shake, dogs appear and howl in the darkness 'as the goddess approaches' (258). Then the priestess utters the cry which is to turn away all those who are uninitiated or impure, and urges Aeneas to come with her with his sword bared and his spirit high. After these words she, seized once again by the rage of divine possession (*furens* 262), enters the open cave, and Aeneas fearlessly keeps pace with her.

In the encounter with Apollo the god's approach and possession of the Sibyl causes her prophetic utterance. The encounter with Hecate is described more fully: the whole of nature participates in the goddess's coming. The priestess's cry wards off the uninitiated, those who are unfit to hear the mystery which is going to be revealed. In an Orphic hymn[106] this cry precedes a mighty vision of the One God. In Callimachus' hymn to Apollo this cry is greatly expanded, and then followed by praise and description of Apollo (17ff). Horace as the priest of the Muses[107] utters the same cry and then begins his 'Roman' odes with a stanza on the supreme power and majesty of Jupiter. We must expect, therefore, after this cry a mighty vision of a divine nature. In our passage, this cry also indicates that from now on the Sibyl and Aeneas are alone. She, possessed by the goddess, leads Aeneas. They both together enter the cave.

The image of the 'cave' has a twofold meaning here: it is both a traditional entrance into the Underworld and a place for being granted a divine vision. The closest parallel is the vision seen by Timarchus in the cave of Trophonius in Plutarch's *De Genio Socratis*:[108]

> 'Timarchus, then, in his desire to learn the nature of Socrates' sign, acted like the high-spirited young initiate in philosophy he was: consulting no one but Cebes and me, he descended into the crypt of Trophonius, first performing the rites that are customary at the oracle. He remained underground two nights and a day, and most people had already given up hope, and his family were lamenting him for dead, when he came up in the morning with a radiant countenance. He did obeisance to the god, and as soon as he had escaped the crowd, began to tell us of many wonders seen and heard.
>
> 'He said that on descending into the oracular crypt, his first experience was of profound darkness; next, after a prayer, he lay a long time not clearly aware whether he was awake or dreaming. It did seem to him, however, that at the same moment he heard a crash and was struck on the head, and that the sutures parted and released his soul. As it withdrew and mingled joyfully with the air that was translucent and pure, it felt in the first place that now, after long being cramped, it had again found relief, and was growing larger than before, spreading out like a sail; and next that it faintly caught the whir of something revolving overhead with a pleasant sound. When he lifted his eyes the earth was nowhere to be seen; but he saw. . . .'

There follows a full description of the universe, and particularly of 'the portion of Persephone', the part between the circle of the moon and the earth, and what happens to the spirits of the dead there. When Timarchus regains consciousness, he finds himself again in the cave of Trophonius. The account of this vision is called a 'myth'. But 'myths, too,' as one of the speakers in the dialogue says, 'despite the loose manner in which they do so, have a way of reaching the truth' (589f). The transition from the entrance into the cave to the vision of a journey through the Underworld is marked by Virgil by an invocation to the gods and places of the Underworld.[109]

The cave as a place of vision is familiar in Virgil's time. Horace uses it almost as a set symbol when he asks the god Bacchus to what groves or caves he is leading him and in what cave he is to be heard singing of the glory and divinity of Augustus.[110] A vision in the form of a 'journey' is a very ancient motif, the oldest example known to us from Greek literature being the journey of Parmenides riding on his chariot to the goddess of Truth.

If we then take the end of Aeneas' journey through the region of the dead together with its beginning we may draw this conclusion: the poet has clearly indicated that Aeneas' journey with the Sibyl is not an actual journey—and by 'actual' I mean events told as taking place in the epic, such as his stay in Carthage or his fighting in Italy—but it is a divinely inspired dream journey. As such it is very different from the unquestioning actuality of Book 11 of the *Odyssey.*

Where does this dream journey take Aeneas? The divine sister of Apollo is called *Triuia* three times (13,35,69) before she is called Hecate (118 etc.). *Triuia* is a cult-name of Hecate which refers to her potency and worship at the crossroads. Dido prays to her who 'at night at the crossroads is invoked by the howling of dogs (or: cries of worshippers) throughout the cities' (4.609).[111] Varro[112] identifies *Triuia* with Diana, and gives two etymological explanations of the name, the first agreeing with Virgil's description: 'called *Triuia* from the fact that her image is set up quite generally in Greek towns where three roads meet.' According to the second etymology the goddess is called *Triuia,* 'because she is said to be the Moon, which moves in the sky in three ways, upwards, sideways, and onwards.'[113] Since Varro's dictionary on the Latin Language is bound to have been read by anyone interested in literature, these two etymologies must have been well known. When therefore Virgil calls Diana *Triuia* three times, he hints at once at a possible reference to the sphere of the moon. Hecate, invoked by the Sibyl, is described as 'powerful in the sky and in the Darkness' (6.247). *Erebus* would usually refer to the Underworld, but since its meaning in Greek is 'darkness', it could refer also to the darkness of the lower air.[114] Here again Virgil's language is vague, so that the realm of Hecate can be thought of as wholly above the earth.

As soon as Aeneas and the Sibyl enter the 'Underworld', the moon imagery is picked up again. For they walk through those dark regions 'just as, through fitful moonbeams, under the moon's thin light, A path lies in a forest, when Jove has palled the sky With gloom, and the night's blackness has bled the world of colour' (270f). In this first part of the region of the dead, the light is scanty as from an uncertain moon. Aeneas has difficulty in recognizing Palinurus in all that gloom (340). The image of the moon appears again when Aeneas encounters Dido and 'knew the form he glimpsed through the shadows Was hers—as early in the month one sees or imagines he sees, Through a wrack of cloud the new moon rising and glimmering' (452ff). Here Dido's wan and distant beauty is seen in the image of the young moon. The atmosphere of scanty light continues: in 'the last regions' (477f) it is still dark so that the armour of Aeneas flashes through the gloom (490) casting fear into the Greek ghosts.

After the passing of midday and the parting of the ways, Aeneas having set out on the way to Elysium looks back and sees the walls of Tartarus. It is a fastness surrounded by the river Phlegethon (which means the 'burning one') with its scorching flames. Since this place is situated between the dark part of the underworld and the entrance to Elysium, Phlegethon may symbolize the region of the clouds among which lightning is produced or the fiery sphere below the ether.[115]

The fact that Aeneas is *not* taken through Tartarus and shown what is in it but that he is told about it by the Sibyl who was once shown it by Hecate (565) is striking. What does it mean? One thing is certain: that the description of Tartarus is, in consequence, one step further removed from the actuality of Aeneas' travels than the rest of the Underworld is. Those in Tartarus are partly traditional legendary sinners, partly contemporary human criminals. While the sins of the first group are sometimes mentioned, their punishments are mostly described in gruesome detail. The human sinners, on the other hand, are distinguished by their crimes, while their punishment is either to come (614) or not mentioned. The last legendary sinner, 'wretched Phlegyas' (whose punishment is not described) teaches by his warning words: 'Learn justice, and not to belittle the gods!' All this suggests that the description of legendary actual punishments in Tartarus is a tale intended by the poet not to be taken literally but to warn and deter people from crime by the horror of the ancient stories, precisely in the same way as Strabo thought of such stories.[116] A description of the punishment or purification of human sinners is avoided (614f, 627).

Finally, Aeneas and the Sibyl approach the gates of the walls of Dis (634),[117] and Aeneas fastens the Golden Bough on the threshold as his 'gift' for the goddess which she, Proserpina, demanded (142). We are here at the boundary of Elysium, because forthwith Aeneas and the Sibyl enter the Elysian Fields. We are also at the lower boundary of ether which fills the Elysian Fields 'with greater abundance'. In Varro's description of the universe, the dividing line between *aër* and *aether* is 'the circle of the moon'.[118] The darkness of *aër* which is the earth's shadow ends then at the circle of the moon. Plutarch says explicitly[119] that the region between earth and moon is Hades and the 'portion of Persephone'.[120] Beyond this limit is Elysium and the ether.

Virgil describes the 'blessed abode' of Elysium in the following way: 'Here a more abundant ether clothes the fields with brilliant light, and these fields know their own sun, their own stars', or 'and these fields know the sun as only they can know it, and so too the stars' (6.640f).[121] This description is obviously challenging,[122] and it is quite ambiguous. It could mean that Elysium, being in the Underworld, has a sun and stars different from the sun and stars of the ordinary world. It can also mean that the quality of the sun and the stars as experienced in Elysium is particularly appropriate and fitting for Elysium.[123] According to Plutarch,[124] Elysium is the side of the moon towards heaven. Here, the sun and the stars would, of course, be much closer and more intensely bright than on earth, not being dimmed by the darkness of *aër*. It is possible that the description of Elysium as knowing its own sun is an allusion to an etymology connecting the word 'Elysium' with the word *helios*, the sun.[125] This is then Elysium where few stay to be finally purified, and all the others pass through to be born again.

So far, then, the regions of the Underworld have been distinguished by light and dark. Aeneas has come through a dark region scantily lit up, as if by a fitful moon; he has passed by a place surrounded by torrents of fire, and he has at last come to a region of bright ether. A new dimension of description appears when Musaeus shows to Aeneas and the Sibyl the way to Anchises. He says (675ff): 'But if your heart's desire is such, then climb this rise (*hoc superate iugum* 676) and I'll set your feet on an easy path.' He spoke and, leading the way, showed them the luminous plains extending below them (*camposque nitentes desuper ostentat* 677f); now they went down from the upland heights (*dehinc summa cacumina linquunt* 678). Here, enclosed deep in a green, remote valley, among rustling trees, in a pleasant abode by the River of Forgetting was Anchises with all the souls to be reborn as Roman heroes (679ff and 703ff). It is made quite clear that in moving from Elysium to the valley of the Lethe river Aeneas 'descends'. The poet indicates that Elysium with its abundance of ether and brilliant light is on the very heights, while the valley of Lethe, even though it is still part of the shining fields, is already lower down.

When Anchises has finished speaking, he and Aeneas with the Sibyl 'wander about in the broad fields of air' (*aëris in campis latis*

887). *Aër* is, as we have seen,[126] the 'darkish air' above the earth. The abundant ether of Elysium is now far above them. Then Aeneas awakens from his 'false 'dream vision, but he has the key to seeing its deeper, true meaning—as we have also.

The beginning of Book 7 is still pervaded by the atmosphere and half-light of the 'lower portions' of the realm of the dead. It begins with another funeral, the one of Aeneas' nurse Caieta, which is followed by a voyage up the coast to the mouth of the Tiber. Here the moon imagery from the beginning of the journey through the Underworld is picked up again in two of Virgil's most beautiful lines: 'Winds breathe for them into the night, the bright moon does not refuse them passage, and the sea is resplendent under the trembling light' (8f).[127] They pass by the shores of Circe, daughter of the Sun (11), protected against her powerful witchcraft by Neptune. In Homer's *Odyssey,* her house is at the Portals of Dawn (12.3f) and is described as such after the Underworld Book, as here. At last, the region of darkness, death, and danger is left (25) when the saffron dawn began to shine from the ether on high; and, as the Trojans rowed into the mouth of the Tiber, the 'birds were making sweet the ether, and flew about among the trees' (34). The brilliance of ether has won right down to the earth.

How is this description of the 'Underworld' related to the groups of spirits said to be dwelling in its diverse parts? The first is the group of those who died in infancy, those falsely condemned to death, suicides, those who died for the sake of love, and those killed in war. What all these have in common is that they have died 'before their time', as Cumont points out.[128] About Dido, Virgil himself says that 'she perished neither by fate, nor by a deserved death, but wretchedly *before her day* (*ante diem* 4.697) and set ablaze by sudden passion.' The idea that a person has a specific day on which he is bound to die belongs to the sphere of astrology.[129] The basic belief was that at the hour of birth, through the conjunction of the stars at that moment of time, the hour of death was determined. A 'horoscope' was the means of finding out someone's hour of death from his hour of birth. In consequence, when people died *before their time,* though disembodied spirits, they had to wait until their time was up before they could properly enter the 'life' of the dead, that is, be judged, purified through punishment, and re-enter the cycle of rebirth.[130]

The group of those prematurely dead dwells in the first dark portion of the 'Underworld'. They do not occur in Anchises' revelation, because although they have died they have not reached the 'term' of their death. They are allowed across the river of the 'Underworld', because they have been buried, but presumably they cannot rise beyond the lowest dark air of the earthen atmosphere until their time has come.

The next group of spirits in Virgil's 'Underworld' are those being punished in Tartarus. The non-legendary human sinners here correspond to those in Anchises' revelation that are purified in wind, water, and fire from the taint of their earthen life (738–43). The imagery of the 'fire river' flowing round the walls of Tartarus points to the punishment of purification through fire.[131]

Those, however, who have led a pure life are not allowed to step on the threshold of Tartarus (563). This third group of spirits dwells in the 'blessed abode' of bright ether (637ff), the Trojan heroic ancestors among others, and the great bards Orpheus and Musaeus. This is Anchises' Elysium where a few souls are finally purified, while most re-enter life.

The fourth group of spirits are assembled in the valley of the Lethe River. These are the souls of the future great men of Rome. They have passed through Elysium and are beginning their descent into another life on earth.

Finally, we encounter Anchises, Aeneas and the Sibyl in 'the broad fields of air'.

To sum up, let us outline Aeneas' 'ascent', which appears to be the true underlying meaning of the myth of his 'descent into the Underworld'. Aeneas enters on a dream journey when he enters the cave together with the divinely possessed Sibyl. After meeting with the spirits of those unburied who roam around the earth he crosses the Underworld waters which means that he is carried up into the dark thick air above the earth where he meets those prematurely dead. Rising through this barely lit region, he sees the fire river surrounding Tartarus; and, in leaving it behind, he rises up through the region of clouds and lightning to the house of Dis which is at the boundary between air and ether at the circle of the moon. Here he enters the region of ether, Elysium, which forms the summit, the highest point of his ascent, and which is the sun-lit side of the moon. Leaving it, he descends to the still bright valley of the Lethe river. Finally, he descends again to the region of dark air; and then, dismissed from the Gate of Sleep, he is back on earth and makes his way to the ships and his companions.

In his first speech Anchises, then, reveals the nature of the world and of the afterlife. This is the truth about the world and life and death as Virgil and many of the educated people of his time saw it. All the rest of Virgil's description of the Underworld is a poetic myth which in a veiled and riddling form points to the truth made explicit by Anchises. The poetic myth describes a 'descent' of the dead and Aeneas into a world down below, in the bowels of the earth; the underlying philosophical or religious truth is an 'ascent of the soul' into the sky, followed by a new 'descent' into another life on earth.[132] The myth is, then, of the nature of a false dream: it could not come true. But the vision to which the myth points is the truth.

If such is the true meaning underlying the myth of the 'Underworld', then this region of the dead fits with precision into the cosmos as described by Anchises and as we have found it to be in the main body of the *Aeneid*. The vast space between the earth and the sky rising through the misty darkness of *aër* to the radiance of *aether* is filled by the spirits of the dead who live closer to the earth or closer to the height according to the degree of their corruption or purification, in fact, according to their moral worth.[133]

Part III

THE PHASES IN THE MOVEMENT OF THE COSMOS

Up to this point the nature of the cosmos as represented in the *Aeneid* has been described in as far as it is a 'structure', and as such it is of course static. But beyond this the cosmos is also in motion. It revolves, and this means that it is more than a Manifold filling three-dimensional space. Since it moves, it also has the fourth dimension of time. Everything therefore that is in this cosmos has an individual history, and the changes of the whole in all their diversity together are world history.[1]

The concept of time implied here is 'cyclic', and the fact that the ancient time notion is 'cyclic' and not 'linear', as our own time notion tends to be, is well known. Virgil thought of time in the ancient way, as the following examples will show. When the Wooden Horse has been drawn into Troy and festivities follow, 'The sky turns and the night rushes up from the Ocean' (2.250). As the sky's vault turns, the day goes below the horizon and the night comes up. In *Georgics*, 1.239, the 'row of the constellations', that is, the stars of the Zodiac 'turn themselves obliquely' on a path cut through the two moderate zones. The day (*Aen.* 9.7), the summer season (5.626), the months (1.269), and the years (1.234) 'turn themselves' or 'roll around' in the same way, time being cyclic, with the recurrence of the same stars, seasons, and works. This is most graphically expressed in the *Georgics* when the regular recurrence of the farmer's tasks is described: 'The farmer's toil returns, driven in a circle, and the year rolls back on itself along its own footsteps' (2.401f). In this way, just as the sky revolves with its constellations, so does time, whether of shorter or longer span, time consisting of or filled with the activities of men.[2]

This image of circular movement is also used of the interconnected series of events ordained by fate or Jupiter. The fullest passage is the beginning of the prophecy of Helenus to Aeneas (3.373ff). 'The priest sang forth from his divine mouth: "Son of a goddess—for the proof is clear that you travel over the seas under higher auspices, thus the king of the gods is allotting the fates and makes the changes roll on, such is the sequence which is revolving —a few things I will tell you. . . ." ' Here Helenus prophesies to Aeneas out of his realization of Aeneas' destiny. He knows that his destiny is to lay the foundation for Rome. The 'fates' which Jupiter 'allots' (*fata . . . sortitur* 375f), the changes which he causes to turn up in the revolving movement of temporal events *(uoluitque uices),* the ordered sequence which revolves *(is uertitur ordo),* all these taken together are expressions in which the events of what is both myth and history are seen in the image of a mighty interconnected revolving whole.[3] The most pregnant and concise expression of this image occurs in the fourth *Eclogue* (4.5): 'The great sequence of the ages arises again afresh, already the Virgin (justice) returns, and the reign of Saturn returns.' In the prophecy of Helenus, it is Jupiter who causes the revolving movement from change to change.[4] We have here a mythical image of Jupiter, who is the highest of the many gods, moving round the cycle of events and so determining its changes and allotting destinies. The philosophical or scientific picture underlying this myth is of course the description of the cosmos given by Anchises in Book 6. The indwelling spirit stirs the cosmos into motion with all the parts of the universe as parts of himself, pervading these parts with greater or lesser intensity.

The universe of the *Aeneid* is then in motion, the 'changes' or 'phases' of its revolution being governed by Jupiter. We shall now have to investigate these 'phases'. Since each phase is, on the monistic side, a particular state in the Being of the cosmic god Jupiter, each phase, on the pluralistic side, must show a coherent state of affairs, whether of tension or agreement, throughout this manifold of Beings which constitutes the cosmos on this side. There must be a coherence between Jupiter, Juno, Venus and any other gods and spirits, men and nature, a coherence which need not be peaceful. It can be bitter tension, even war. This is the logic of the cosmos as described by Anchises. It is certain also on these grounds that the representation of Jupiter must be, at least to some extent, contradictory. For he is both the all-comprehending cosmic divinity and the highest divinity ruling over an, at times, unruly group of gods, spirits, and men.

If such is the overall picture, the question is how Virgil has moulded this cohesion in the phases of his story, those phases which are bound to be the 'changes' *(uices)* brought about by the onward-rolling movement of events caused by Jupiter or parts of him, that is, the other gods. What, in fact, is the relation between the gods and events in the human and natural world in the *Aeneid,* if this question is raised on the background of such a view of the whole?

Brooks Otis describes this 'cohesion' or 'sympathy' in the following way:[5] '. . . the divine is no mere "reflection" of the human any more than fate or predestination is a mere reflection of freedom. There is no "projection" of the human on to the divine. Instead, the two go together. They coincide, they meet, they merge. The divine plan works at all levels.'[6] This is highly suggestive and a view which we, as people of our own age, would perhaps prefer to hold about the *Aeneid.* But when Otis states his view more specifically, it seems to revert to the popular idea of 'parallelism' of divine and human action.[7] Otis says:[8] 'The gods and supernatural powers never override him [Aeneas] any more than Aeneas overrides them. The rule is correlation, coincidence, the simultaneous action of earth and heaven.' This view assigns to human beings a considerable degree of freedom in their actions, a freedom which is in itself unlikely to be believed in during a century in which astrology gained an ever-increasing hold on the Romans. What is more important, it does not tally with Jupiter's utterances in the divine council of Book 10, called by Otis[9] 'the *locus classicus* of the idea' of human responsibility. Nor does it agree with Otis's more convincing statement that 'in the *Aeneid* I–VI, it is the gods who seem to take *all* the initiative.'[10]

Those words of Jupiter in Book 10 are the *one* passage in the *Aeneid* where the relationship between the gods, that is Jupiter and the other gods, like Juno and Venus, man's own free will, and fate is clear and explicit.[11] What is found here seems to be a special dispensation by Jupiter himself, the highest god. It is that, subsequent to this, each man's own undertakings will bring about his toil and his fortune.[12] Jupiter's assertion of his own all-comprehending kingship puts the seal on this decree; and his statement that 'fate will find a way' indicates that in this case fate does not 'drag man one way and then another and has to be followed' (5.709), but fate itself follows and complies with the free undertakings of men.

These words of Jupiter in Book 10[13] offer a vantage point from which a perspective opens up on the epic as a whole. The simple consequence for our understanding ought to be: first, that *after* Jupiter's ordinance events may be expected to move according to his dispensation, at least for a crucial period; secondly, that *before* this dispensation events moved differently. Let us take then as a working hypothesis that before Jupiter's dispensation: first, men's undertakings were not their own, that is, that the initiation of their actions did not arise out of their own free wills; secondly, the gods other than Jupiter interfered so that Jupiter did not exercise his supreme power, although it is always felt; thirdly, fate dragged men along rather than followed on their free decisions. Even when man possesses the freedom to decide, he only has it because and as long as Jupiter grants it. Man as he stands is not free in his actions, though by his personal integrity or lack of it he lays himself open to better or worse spiritual influences, as we shall see.

In this context, it is essential to recognize the peculiar form in which the influence of evil gods or spirits is exercised on men, namely, by means of 'possession'. The nature of 'possession' is best seen in the most detailed description of such an event, the 'posession', though not evil, of the Sibyl by Apollo in Book 6. It proceeds in two phases. When the god is already approaching and breathing upon her (50f), she cries, 'the god, behold the god!' 'And speaking, There by the threshold, her features, her colour were all at once Different, her hair flew wildly about; her breast was heaving, Her fay heart swelled in ecstasy; larger than life she seemed, More than mortal her utterance.' In this preliminary state, she asks Aeneas to pray. When he has finished speaking, she still tries to resist the god, but in vain: 'But the Sibyl, not yet submissive to Phoebus, there in her cavern Prodigiously struggled to shake from her brain [*pectore*, literally 'breast' or 'heart'] the powerful God who rode her: but all the more he exhausted her foaming Mouth and mastered her wild heart, breaking her in with a firm hand.'[14] This second and culminating phase is once again described after her inspired speech: 'Her voice came booming out of the cavern, Wrapping truth in enigma: she was possessed;[15] Apollo Controlled her, shaking the reins and twisting the goad in her bosom.' This state of possession is called *furor* (102) which Lewis translates by 'ecstasy'; the word can also mean 'raving', 'madness', 'passion'.[16]

What happens to Palinurus, steersman of Aeneas' ship (5.835ff) through the intervention of the god Sleep *(Somnus)*,[17] reveals on a small scale but with great precision the nature and stages of 'possession' by an evil spirit. For sleep is evil and destructive in this context, since he serves the will of Neptune who is ready to protect Aeneas' fleet on its voyage to Cumae in Italy, as Venus desires, but only in return for the sacrifice of *one* man on behalf of the rest of the Trojans (5.814f): Sleep comes in order to 'possess' Palinurus so that he shall die.

Appearing to Palinurus in the guise of a familiar person, Phorbas, he tries to persuade Palinurus to lay down his head and rest his weary eyes. Palinurus can barely keep his eyes raised to the stars to steer by them but firmly refuses to take any risk with sea and winds and tightly grips the rudder.[18] Then the god of Sleep proceeds by force, shaking over the temples of Palinurus 'a bough That drips with the dew of Lethe, the drowsy spell of Stygian Waters' (854f), which is a sprinkling from the 'Underworld' or the Beyond. When his victim is asleep, the god hurls him, still clutching the rudder, into the sea.

The clear distinction of two stages seems to be characteristic of taking 'possession'. The first stage is always milder, in this case being an attempt to persuade Palinurus; the second is of a force or violence which brooks no resistance.[19] The fact that Palinurus is so tired that he can hardly lift his eyes up to the stars to steer[20] gives a natural setting for the work of the god of Sleep. Such a preparation on the human level for an act of possession by a spirit or god is also typical. We shall encounter several instances of 'possession' in the *Aeneid* which are all formed on this pattern.

When we consider the cosmos of the *Aeneid* as a whole, as a coherent world of gods, nature, and men revolving onwards with ever a new slice of it entering into the actuality of existence (whether one wants to call it mythical or historical), we can distinguish five phases in the epic. These phases are clearly marked off against each other, sometimes very abruptly. The second phase begins when Venus, in spite of Jupiter's consoling prophecy, becomes afraid of Juno: 'But Venus turned over new devices, new plans in her heart' (1.657). The third phase begins with a sudden explicit indication that fortune changes: 'At this point for the first time Fortune changed and broke faith with them' (5.604)[21] and Juno in her anger forthwith causes the burning of the ships. The fourth phase begins when after an agreement on peace between Latinus and the Trojans, Juno returns and mobilizes Allecto (7.286). The fifth and last phase begins when Juno sends Juturna to aid Turnus (12.134).

In each case, the basic sequence of events moves from an instigation of trouble by Juno (once by Venus who is then joined by Juno) to an intervention by Jupiter (whether directly or in conjunction with or through others), Jupiter under whose power the rest of the action proceeds.[22] In the fourth phase, Juno intervenes two, or, one might say, three times before Jupiter stops her. The first and the fifth phases correspond to each other, both being shorter than a book. For in Book 1 the second phase begins towards the end of the book, and in Book 12 the fourth phase reaches into the beginning of the book.[23] The third, that is, the central phase begins towards the end of Book 5 and ends soon after the beginning of Book 7, its main body being Book 6. Phases II and IV are long and complex, both of them comprising an inset of two books. In the second phase, Books 2 and 3 form an inset, being the narrative of Aeneas at Dido's court in preparation for her love; in the fourth phase, Books 8 and 9 form an inset, being preparatory for the full-scale war of Book 10.

It is plain that these phases do not coincide with the division into books and that they are quite uneven in length. They represent a totally different principle of organization from the order apparent in the book division. All that has been said by various scholars[24] about the 'books' and their various relationships of mood, content, etc., is not affected. An epic which is composed on the background of Hellenistic practice might well exhibit a complex network of patterns; and since we know that Virgil designed the layout of his epic in prose before ever he began to compose any part of it in poetry, the conception of such a complicated structure is quite practical.

In exploring these five phases, my thesis will be that the relationship between the divine and the human worlds is not one of parallel actions, but that the wills and actions of the gods permeate and determine the natural and the human world in such a way that each slice of cosmic living is imbued with and characterized by the nature of the divinity active in it and ruling it. This is a conception which, while not astrological, comes close to a determinism of an astrological kind, a conception which is no more than a full explication of the life or will of the One cosmic god Jupiter in his relationship both to Fate and to the Many.

This overall conception has serious consequences for the evaluation of some of the human actions. It is obvious, I think, that where values are concerned, a Roman would place himself on the side of Jupiter and against Juno, if he had to decide. This means that what happens under the auspices or rule of Jupiter is bound to be highly approved, being an expression of the rule of his spirit and will. Since from Book 10 on, apart from Juturna's action, Juno and Venus are severely subdued and Jupiter rules supreme, the course of the action must in the main be his will and so necessarily approved and positively valued.

I do not, however, want to presume on this conception, which has still to be shown as true to the epic. But I intend to try to show that independently of the divine action the human action is, in fact, what it must be if fulfilling the will of the ruling god. If I succeed in this, my general thesis ought to confirm the detailed interpretation. But this is in anticipation and intended to effect no more than to chart the path of my argument.

FIRST PHASE

The Storm in Book 1 is, as Poeschl has shown,[1] 'programmatic' for the whole of the *Aeneid*. In this passage, the basic ideas, images, and sequences of action and feeling are shaped for the first time in the epic, and they are built up into a comprehensive whole from the moment that Juno sees the Trojans setting out from Sicily to the colourful journey of Neptune over the pacified sea and Jupiter's speech to Venus. I suggest that this first phase extends still further, namely up to line 656 so as to include the consequences of Jupiter's encouragement of Venus and of his sending Mercury to Dido with the command to offer Aeneas hospitality, which of course she does.

The storm is initiated by Juno. The setting of this scene is the middle region of the cosmos, the region of air and water, of winds and sea. This is where Juno begins her activity, going 'to the native land of rainstorms, a place pregnant with raging southwinds, Aeolia' (51f2). It is below the serene peace of the ether and of Jupiter, but above the evil depth of the earth. This region of the dark stormy air, stormy both in the physical and the spiritual sense, is, as we have seen,[2] her own proper element. Here she goes to Aeolus, lord of the winds, whose spirit is one of anger and blind tearing motion, a spirit in close accord with her own mind when she goes.

Juno comes to this region, because she is aware that the Trojans are setting out from Sicily for Italy and she intends to prevent 'the king of the Trojans' from reaching his goal (37f). The cause of Aeneas' toils is savage Juno's anger that will not forget (4). Virgil asks the Muse what the reasons are for this anger which pursues a man outstanding by his *pietas*. For such great wrath is strange in a heavenly spirit (10f). Here the searching question is raised immediately of whether such anger is really compatible with a 'heavenly mind'. Anger is not, as we shall see, in Virgil's scale of values evil in itself; it depends on the reasons.[3] Juno loves Carthage, her favourite city and wants her to rule an empire among men—'if fate would allow it' (18). But she had heard that descendants from Troy were to destroy Carthage and rule supremely, according to the ordinance of Fate. This is what Juno fears (23). The cause of Juno's fear and anger is, then, an affection which, instead of being overruled by obedience to destiny, stubbornly pursues its own aspirations. Her anger is one of disobedience and rebellion and, therefore, evil.[4]

There are other reasons which stem from a memory of the past. In the Trojan War she supported the Greeks in their fight against Troy. The cruel pain which made her hate the Trojans was caused by the rejection of her beauty by Trojan Paris who preferred Venus (27), the fact that the Trojan race descended from Dardanus, son of Jupiter and Electra (*genus inuisum* 28), one of the many loves of Jupiter, and Jupiter's affection for the beautiful Trojan youth Ganymede, a descendant of Dardanus. Troy, then, had meant pain and anger to Juno in the past; and the reason for that old anger had been hurt pride and jealousy.[5]

It is interesting to note that Homer mentions the reason for Hera's anger, namely the 'judgement of Paris', as late as in Book 24 (27ff) of the *Iliad*. The moral nature of Hera's anger, whether justified or evil, is of little importance to Homer. For Virgil, this and the other reasons are of primary importance, because through them it becomes immediately plain that Juno's anger is wrong. But what makes her anger evil, most of all, is that she yields to her love for Carthage against the decree of fate and the will of Jupiter.

The destructive forces which Juno sets in motion against the Trojans are the storm winds. Since they are characterized by violence and anger,[6] they are akin to Juno and fit instruments of her anger and hatred, and since by Jupiter's decree Aeolus is appointed to release or check them according to any order he may receive, Juno is able to command him to destroy or scatter the Trojan fleet (1.69f). Here Jupiter is ultimately in control. But this does not mean that everything must ineluctably go according to his will all the time. The possibility of contrary action is built into Aeolus' appointment by Jupiter himself.[7] When the danger to the Trojan fleet is at its height, the counter-command is given by Neptune. He is the brother of Jupiter and obviously one in mind with him, being like a man of piety and authority who quells a raging mob.[8] He scolds the winds, sends them home, and calms the sea.

What is the effect on the Trojans of this storm raised against them by Juno? To what extent is Aeneas under Juno's influence?

At the centre of the fury of the storm is Aeneas with the Trojan fleet. Virgil makes it plain that this scene is formed after the model of the storm scene in *Odyssey* 5[9] both by the similarity of the scenes and their setting and by allusions which at times amount to quotations translated into Latin. The hero is sailing straight towards his goal, Odysseus from the island of Calypso to the Phaeacians who will take him home to Ithaca, Aeneas from Sicily to Latium, the future land of Rome. A storm is raised by a hostile deity, by Poseidon in the Odyssey, by Juno through Aeolus and his winds in the *Aeneid*.[10] The parallelism is unmistakeable and it is this that makes a reliable interpretation possible.[11]

At the height of the Odyssean storm, when winds blow from all directions building up a mighty swell, 'then the knees of Odysseus were loosed and his own dear heart' (5.297). At the height of the Virgilian storm, which in a close-knit sequence rises to a climax of thunder and lightning flashes when 'everything threatens the men with immediate death' (91), 'forthwith the limbs of Aeneas were loosed with deathly cold' *(extemplo Aeneae soluuntur frigore membra).* Virgil translates closely, but omits the last part of Homer's line.[12] Why? Virgil uses the same phrase again at the very end of his epic when he describes the death of Turnus. Aeneas has plunged his sword into his breast: 'And his limbs were loosed in deathly cold, while his life fled with a sigh in anger down to the shades' (12.951f). Here, the death-chill of the body is mentioned separately from the flight of the life-spirit to the world beyond. Similarly, in the first book (1.92f), the body and mind of Aeneas are described separately. While, in the Homeric line, both body and mind (or heart) of Odysseus are reduced to impotence, in Virgil only the body of Aeneas is deprived of all strength by the chill of imminent death. His heart or mind is much less affected: he merely 'groaned'.[13] Then, 'stretching out both his hands to the stars he spoke thus.' The introduction to the subsequent speech is again pointedly different from the corresponding Homeric introduction. For Odysseus 'sorely troubled then spoke to his great-hearted spirit' (298). The Homeric monologue is turned into an invocation by Virgil.[14]

Odysseus wails over his misfortune and wonders what is going to happen to him in the end. He fears that an old oracle is now coming true. He exclaims how Zeus is covering the sky with clouds and has stirred up the sea; the winds of many different storms come rushing on and speedy death is certain (5.299–305). None of this is in the *Aeneid.* Aeneas does not express his feelings as he experiences the storm. His speech begins with a near-translation of Odysseus' next words. Odysseus says: 'Three and four times blessed are the Greeks who then perished in broad Troy doing a favour to the sons of Atreus.' Odysseus wishes he had died there, too, when he fought for the body of slain Achilles. For he would have received funeral rites and, in consequence, fame. Once Odysseus has accepted death, what he regrets is the loss of honour through drowning uncelebrated in the sea: a miserable death.[15] Personal honour and glory is the great aim and joy of the Homeric hero, an honour which belongs to him as an individual and as a member of a noble line of heroes. Odysseus remains within the ambit of his own fears and his own interest.

Aeneas raises his hands upwards and addresses those thrice and four times blessed to whom it was granted to die before the eyes of their fathers under the lofty walls of Troy.[16] Next he addresses Diomedes, most valorous of the Greeks, and wishes he had died at his hand, as he almost did, so that he might share the place of death with Hector, Sarpedon, and all the others carried off by the river of Troy, the Simoeis.[17] There is here also the wish for a hero's death, but inextricably bound up with it the longing for 'home', the desire to die for Troy and before those belonging to Troy. The man's loyalty to his own, lost city is uppermost in what he believes to be the hour of his death, even though the object of his love is now a heap of ashes.

By being compared with Odysseus, Aeneas is in the eyes of the Romans first of all elevated and praised. Cicero, for instance, calls Odysseus 'that very wise man'[18] and Horace thinks of the *uirtus* and *sapientia* of Odysseus as the key-idea of the *Odyssey.*[19] But Virgil goes further. He takes over, but also alters and, in fact, corrects the picture of the great hero in the hour, as he believes, of his death. Aeneas is 'a greater Odysseus'.[20] In Homer, the whole man Odysseus is afraid and unashamedly expresses his fear. For an Homeric hero fear, even flight was no disgrace, but simply a natural concomitant of fighting (cf. Hector in Book 22). For the Roman of Virgil's time courage is the virtue 'in which there is greatness of heart and a thorough contempt for death and pain', as Cicero puts it.[21] Aeneas' body senses death close, but his heart, while distressed, longs only for a death at Troy. He expresses no fear, but accepts death without a word about it. This is great courage.[22]

Proven sterling, Aeneas is the right man for the task he has been chosen to perform. But this is precisely where as yet he fails. When he wishes he had died before Troy at the hands of Diomedes, he wishes that on that occasion Venus and Apollo had not saved his life.[23] But the poet has made plain to us in the prooemium, and Aeneas knows from divine signs and visions at Troy, that he has been divinely saved for the sake of his ordained task.[24] Therefore, when he wishes he had not been saved, he unawares wishes he had not been chosen by Jupiter to prepare the way for Rome. Juno's attack on him through the storm has been successful: the call of fate has dropped out of mind. He is, as Juno desires, disobedient to fate—but only in feeling, not in action. There is no room for action in the midst of that storm.[25] His longing for and loyalty to the Troy that is gone is an expression of his greatest strength, his capacity for *pietas*. This is the guarantee for a future loyalty to a new city. But while his heart still turns to the past, he is an easy victim for Juno, who desires to crush that new city in the bud.[26]

What are Aeneas' attitude and actions when Neptune, whose divine spirit is like that of a man of authority through his *pietas* and his merits (151), by calming the sea has initiated an era of serenity? The exhausted Trojans land and prepare a meal of corn. Aeneas goes to look out for the lost ships—in vain. But he succeeds in killing seven deer for the seven ships left to him. Care for his Trojans is obviously uppermost in him, leader of his people. When he has handed out food and drink to them all, he tries to soothe their grieving hearts with his words (197).

This speech is again modelled closely on a speech of Odysseus (*Od.* 12.208ff). Odysseus is trying to encourage his frightened companions to steer towards the thunderous uproar of the Charybdis. He reminds them of past dangers, especially the Cyclops from whom they were saved by Odysseus' courage and shrewd counsel. He tells them to row on; for Zeus may save them. Then he gives detailed instructions to the helmsman. Aeneas, too, reminds his people of past dangers, Scylla and Charybdis and the Cyclops. He does not boast of any achievement of his own, because he has not been the leader until quite recently. While Anchises was alive, Aeneas was under his paternal jurisdiction and guidance.[27] But Aeneas is certain that 'god will grant an end also to the present danger' (199) and, urging them to take heart, he reminds them that they are journeying 'to Latium where fate is showing them a quiet dwelling-place', where 'it is right for Troy to rise again'. The destined goal which Aeneas, faced with death, had completely forgotten is here clear before his mind, and he puts it clearly before his companions, telling them to cast out their fear. This change in the direction of Aeneas' mind has been brought about by the change in his situation. The presence of imminent death is totally different from mere uncertainty and danger. This reversal in the situation has been caused by a shift from the supremacy of Juno working through Aeolus to the supremacy of Neptune.[28]

The strength of character in Aeneas is as evident here as it was in the midst of the storm, not only in his words to his men, but also in the lines rounding off his speech, again very different from the Odyssean passage.[29] Odysseus hides from his companions the fact that if, according to his command, they avoid the danger of the whirlpool of Charybdis, they run straight into the danger of losing men to the monster Scylla. He treats his companions with shrewdness, being well aware of their fearfulness. Aeneas, on the other hand, hides his own feelings from his companions, feelings which would have belied his words. For 'sick with terrible cares he made his face express hope and held his distress concealed deep down in his heart' (208f).[30] The cares that harass him are anxiety and grief about the missing ships and the uncertainty and danger of the present situation, as he later explains to Venus. The quality here apparent in Aeneas' attitude is called by Cicero the virtue of 'depth' (*altitudo* or *βαϑύτης*). Writing to Atticus in 51 B.C. from the provinces Cicero says:[31] 'Even if I bear these same things very well, I think, so far as my outward appearance and my facial expression is concerned, in my innermost feelings I suffer anguish. There are so many things which are daily claimed or said or passed over in silence, in anger or full of insolence or without any delicacy with every kind of stupidity, things which I shall not describe to you, not in order to conceal them from you, but because they are difficult to explain. Thus you will admire my 'deep calm' (*βαύτης*) once I have safely returned [i.e. to Rome]. There is so much opportunity here to practise that virtue.'[32] The virtue of 'depth' is then 'the capacity to control oneself in the face of the sudden appearance of causes for anger and fear'.[33] When Aeneas keeps his anxiety deep down in his heart and shows a serene and hopeful face, he is acting with the calm of a true leader. The point here is not that he is deeply anxious and himself cast down and hopeless—the situation fully warrants it—but that he is strong enough not to show his anxiety. Here we observe for the first time the tension in Aeneas between his emotions, 'terrible cares' and 'distress', and his mind as expressed in his words to his companions, his mind which stands firm by his mission and firmly controls his feelings when action, like such a speech, is possible. At the end of this scene, Aeneas more than anybody else (*praecipue* 220) mourns the fate of his companions whom he believes dead. His loyalty and devotion to his friends is plain.

'And now there was an end to the mourning' (223)[34] when Jupiter looked down to Libya. The change in Aeneas' fortunes through Jupiter's intervention is going to be swift and complete, for the time being. The storm has been calmed by Jupiter's brother Neptune, but the terrible consequences of the storm are healed by Jupiter himself. With this scene we move to the 'top of the ether', to the 'summit of the sky' (223ff), where Jupiter is addressed by Venus grieving over her son's bitter lot. Here Jupiter is the lord of the cosmos, revealing to Venus the secrets of destiny which is his will as well as an impersonal fate. In his speech, the history of Rome is outlined up to the rule of Augustus, culminating in the closure of the Gates of War and the imprisonment of 'godless frenzy' (*Furor impius* 294ff6). The summit of the sky, Jupiter and his will, and fate, these form the physical and spiritual heights of the universe, displayed above the middle region of storm winds and sea, evil passion and the threat of death. Jupiter here takes further and brings to completion what Neptune has already accomplished in calming the storm, just as in terms of cosmic position we move from the middle region of sea, earth's surface, and stormy air up to the heights of the bright ether.

The following three scenes are pervaded by the spirit of this heavenly scene.[35] What happens on earth is shaped by the mind of Jupiter through Mercury and Venus. Immediately after his speech, Jupiter sends Mercury down to Carthage[36] in order that Dido may not, from ignorance of fate, refuse hospitality to the Trojans (297ff).[37] In consequence, the Phoenicians 'calm their fierce hearts' and the queen 'receives a peaceful spirit and a mind of goodwill towards the Trojans' (*quietum*... *animum mentemque benignum* 303f). This attitude instilled by Jupiter prevails in Dido, as we shall see, until Venus sends *Cupido* in the form of Ascanius (657ff).

First then, Venus, who has been told by Jupiter not to be afraid for Aeneas (257) and who has been given certainty about his glorious future and the future of his descendants, goes to meet her son disguised as a Phoenician maiden. She informs him about Dido and her lot, so similar to his, and out of the confidence she herself has gained from Jupiter's words she encourages him in his distress: 'Whoever you are, not unbeloved by the gods, I think, you sip the breath of life' (387f). Both at the beginning and at the end of her speech, she tells him to pursue his way (*perge modo* 389, 401) and assures him of the safety of the ships he believes lost. In parting, she grants him a glimpse of her own divine self which is a seal on the truth of her words. Aeneas is disappointed and feels deceived by her disguise. But he forthwith walks towards the city. Venus, reassured by Jupiter, has given him information which prepares him for what he will meet.

The function and tone of this scene is interpreted very differently by Otis. He speaks of 'a lighter, faintly sensuous note' and of a 'mixture of sensual and maternal elements in this scene.'[38] The reason for this perspective on our scene is his view concerning Venus' intentions: 'She is already plotting against Dido, already preparing the amorous trap'. In my judgement, Venus' description of Dido's past history and present situation, which is so similar to that of Aeneas and which is bound to bring her close to him and win his sympathy, is no more than the truth. It is, indeed, a preparation for the following love story, but on the part of the poet, *not* on Venus' part. Otis's view implies that as soon as Venus leaves the presence of Jupiter, she immediately forgets or discounts his words to her without anything being said about it. This is in itself unlikely. Moreover, later on, Venus is again harassed by fear and then sends *Cupido* to Dido. But there (657) this is explicitly stated: 'she is afraid' and, 'as night falls, her cares return' (661f).[39]

Secondly, it is the sight of the scenes from the Trojan War represented on the temple dedicated to Juno by Dido that first 'soothes his fear; here first Aeneas dares to hope for safety and have more confidence in his fortune, troubled though he had been' (451).[40] Virgil makes it plain that Aeneas has been afraid, just as he was burdened with grief when consoling his companions (209). He also weeps freely (465) at the sight of those pictures which show events that led to the Fall of Troy. Aeneas is open to emotion and very much a man of feeling.[41] He should not for that reason be considered a man lacking in wisdom. As Cicero says,[42] the wise man may well fear the destruction of his city or, again, grieve over its destruction. Aeneas' tears at the sight of the

Trojan pictures cannot be held against him, nor his fears for his present venture which is to lead to the foundation of a new city.

When at last Dido in her beauty and her regal majesty makes her entrance, we expect her to show the peaceful attitude and the goodwill towards the Trojans which Jupiter through Mercury has demanded of her. She is characterized, with emphasis, as just, for she gave just verdicts and laws to her people, apportioned them labours equitably or used the lot (507f). When the lost companions of Aeneas appear, their leader Ilioneus addresses the queen as one 'to whom Jupiter granted the founding of a new city and controlling proud tribes by justice' (522f). Describing the character of his lost king Aeneas, he calls him 'excellent above all others in justice, loyalty *(pietas)* and as a warlord' (544f).[43] Cicero in his Republic acknowledges justice to be the prime virtue, just as Plato does in his Ideal State. When Dido as queen and Aeneas as king rule with justice, they fulfil the will of Jupiter.

When Ilioneus humbly asks, not for hospitality, but only for permission to beach the ships and repair the damage done by the storm, Dido lowers her gaze in embarrassment and pain.[44] She explains how the precariousness of her situation has forced her to guard fiercely the boundaries of her land (5.63f).[45] Now she offers safe conduct wherever they want to go and hospitality which might extend to a permanent settlement of the Trojans at Carthage. Her intense concern for the Trojans and for Aeneas himself are clear, and so is the possibility that this concern might become love. When the moment is ripe for Aeneas to appear in person before Dido and the assembled Phoenicians and rescued Trojans, his mother lifts the cloud,[46] giving him the rosy light of youth, and adorns his hair and his eyes with beauty, just as a craftsman adorns ivory by his art or silver or marble are set in gold. This passage is modelled closely on two passages in the *Odyssey.* Odysseus is so adorned by Athene when after a bath in the river he goes to meet Nausicaa who will wish him for her husband (*Od.* 6.299ff), and again when after washing off the grime and blood of the battle with the suitors he goes to meet Penelope, his wife who has waited for him for twenty years (*Od.* 23.156ff). The poet foreshadows what will happen presently. Aeneas greets the queen with great gratitude for her offer of hospitality, and then his companions. Dido's utter astonishment at the sudden appearance of the son of a goddess is expressed in question after question.[47] When she fully realizes who this great man is, she invites him and his people into her palace, comrades in fate that they are: 'not ignorant of misfortune I am learning to help those in distress.' For up till now she has kept all strangers out of bounds. But now in obedience to Jupiter's command she offers hospitality to these strangers and with great generosity.

Aeneas sends Achates to the ships to fetch young Ascanius. Once again the poet foreshadows what will presently happen. The gifts that Aeneas orders Achates to bring from his ship for Dido are, among others, a cloak and a veil which Helen took from Mycenae when she set out for Troy and an illicit marriage (651). In his foreshadowings the poet suggests that Dido might become like Nausicaa or Penelope or Helen. But as far as the actuality of the situation goes, over against its inherent possibilities, Dido is full of goodwill towards the Trojans and a generous hostess, as it befits a queen.

This is the first phase in the movement of the cosmos of the *Aeneid*. It begins with the rule of Juno, when through the storm Aeneas, brave in the face of death, yet has no thought for his mission. It rises above this when Neptune has calmed the storm and Aeneas sees Latium as his destined goal and cares for his people, however perturbed deep down in his heart he is. It rises to the heights when Jupiter reveals to Aeneas' troubled mother Venus the glorious future of his descendants and when Aeneas' cares are relieved by meeting Venus, by seeing the Trojan pictures and by being at last hospitably welcomed by Dido who is ready to receive the Trojans with goodwill in obedience to Jupiter's command. Both Aeneas and Dido are guided by Jupiter, Aeneas by Venus encouraging him after herself being encouraged by Jupiter, and Dido by Jupiter through Mercury.

At every stage of this phase, a divine being sets the temper which then pervades and controls the natural and the human world.

SECOND PHASE (1.657–5.603)

Book 1

The second phase in the movement of the cosmos of the *Aeneid* is abruptly initiated by Venus, under whose influence the rest of Book 1 stands. But this is not Venus Genetrix, the heavenly mother of Aeneas who expects to see her son as the founder of the Roman empire (1.234ff) and who when she is anxious turns to Jupiter himself for help. This is the 'common' Venus, as Diotima in Plato's *Symposion* would call her, whose powers are those of 'Desire' *(Cupido).* The introduction of Cupido marks the difference.

Her 'new device, her new plan' (657) is to send 'Desire' in the form of Ascanius so that he may cause Dido to fall in love with Aeneas and not seek to harm him under the influence of Juno.[1] When Venus addresses Desire as 'my son, you my strength, my great power you, my son who alone[2] despises the thunderbolt weapons of the Father on high', it is plain that what she plans is not according to the will of Jupiter.

Desire is to 'set the queen ablaze and to fold fire into her bones' (660). Venus plans to seize her by guile (*dolis* 673).[3] When she hugs and kisses him, he 'is to breathe the hidden fire into her and deceive her with his poison'. Guile and deception characterize this Venus from the outset, and what she instigates is Dido's 'possession' by Cupido.[4] Having satisfied Aeneas' love for his son, Cupido 'makes for the queen' (*reginam petit* 717)[5] and she surrenders to his force which will lead to her destruction. She cannot satisfy the thirst of her mind and grows more passionate as she looks at him. Her gaze and her whole heart clings to him and she holds him on her lap 'ignorant of how mighty a god settles on her' (719).[6] After the banquet and the bard's song, ill-starred Dido draws out the night with talk on many things and 'drank long draughts of love' (749). Here, the gradual approach of the Spirit of Desire and his entrance into her being is described in detail. When, at the beginning of the banquet, Dido prays to Jupiter, god of guest-friendship and hospitality, and makes libation to him, this is already ominously overcast by the ascendency of Venus through Cupido.[7] What the influence of Cupido means at this stage is explicitly stated: 'He begins gradually to efface Sychaeus and tries to waken by a living love her spirit long since inert and her heart no longer used to love' (720ff). Desire is taking 'possession' of her, and this is the first phase of her being possessed by him. It continues throughout Aeneas' tale of the Fall of Troy and his own wanderings. For Venus has asked Cupido to feign being Ascanius for not more than one night (1.683). Amor is present and, of course, active until Dido wakens the next morning.[8]

The second phase of the *Aeneid* begins, when, with an intervention of Venus through Cupido, an action which runs counter to Jupiter's plans, Dido, the great and hospitable queen, is suddenly set ablaze and quite incapable of resisting the insinuation of this passion.

Inset: Book 2

Set within this second phase, which reaches from Venus' intervention to the end of the Funeral Games, is Aeneas' tale of the Fall of Troy and his wanderings. Every part of his story which reveals the greatness and the sufferings of Aeneas subserves the intention of Venus to strengthen Dido's love for him. Every mention of his mission to go and settle in Italy will pass unnoticed by Dido.[9] For Aeneas this is the account of the beginning of his divinely ordained mission which ought to prevent him from tarrying with Dido and eventually sets his disobedience to the gods into high relief.

The two essential themes of Book 2 are of course the destruction of Troy and the instigation of the Trojans' flight under the leadership of Anchises carried on the shoulders of Aeneas, both being initiated by the gods.

The destruction of Troy is begun by the Greeks constructing the famous Wooden Horse. It is built 'with the divine art of Pallas' (2.15). It is a 'deadly gift to Minerva', that is Pallas (31). As Sinon says in his fictitious speech, the Horse is to placate the angry goddess for the theft of the Palladium from Troy by Odysseus and Diomedes—and indeed with bloodstained hands (167). So far the influence of Pallas is left vague. When Laocoon might have discovered the Greek ambush in the Horse by hurling his spear against its side, Aeneas says in his tale: 'If destiny, if our own will had not been so contrary, Laocoon would have made us rip open that cache of Greek troops' (54ff).[10] To Aeneas, the human being, divine influence and human attitude work side by side; and a specific divinity is not mentioned. But when the two great snakes kill Laocoon and then nestle at the feet of the goddess under her shield (227), the poet makes it plain that Pallas has sent them.[11] Laocoon's death finally convinces the Trojans that they must draw the Horse into the city. The Horse pregnant with Greeks on the citadel of Troy is, then, the work of Pallas.[12] The climax of the battle for Troy is reached when all the great gods together are revealed to be working at the city's destruction: Neptune, Juno, Pallas, and Jupiter himself, in full concord together. As Venus explains to Aeneas, not Helen or Paris are the cause of Troy's Fall, but the 'mercilessness of the gods' *(inclementia diuum* 602)[13] which has caused and permeates the terrible lot of the burning city with all its savagery.

But in the midst of this sphere of influence, a new series of events is instigated: foreshadowed without effect by the spirit of dead Hector, originated by Jupiter with the help of Venus, and confirmed by the spirit of dead Creusa.

The spirit of dead Hector appears to Aeneas in a dream,[14] telling him to leave doomed Troy with the city's gods to found a new city abroad. Like Sychaeus in Book 1 (355)[15] and Deiphobus in Book 6 (494ff) and others, Hector appears as he was when he died, wounded, bloodstained, and begrimed while Aeneas expects his face to be 'bright' (285), as if he were alive because he dreams of the time before Hector's death.[16] Hector, being a spirit from the Beyond, is a 'true shade'[17] and his advice is not false, but it has no power to move Aeneas. He does not heed it. If, on the other hand, Aeneas had immediately obeyed, his love for his city and his valour would have been in doubt. The poet is bound to represent him as fighting, at least for some sime, for Troy to the utmost of his strength, as he does.[18] When he sees Trojan houses on fire and hears the sound of trumpets, signal of war, he 'beside himself with grief' (*amens* 314) seizes his weapons, yet there is not enough of an effective plan *(sat rationis)* in taking up his arms (for Aeneas by himself, one man), but his heart burns 'to mass together a group for fighting,'[19] and to rush to the citadel with his companions. Fury and anger drive his thinking*(furor iraque mentem/praecipitant),* and it occurs to him that death in battle is noble.[20]

At this very moment Panthus, the priest, comes bringing the images of the Trojan household gods and the news of the victorious advance of the Greeks. According to him, 'cruel Jupiter' (326) has given everything into the hands of the Greeks. The guards at the gates could hardly begin to resist in the blind mêlée of battle (*caeco Marte* 335).[21] By these words of the priest and 'the will of the gods' (*numine diuum* 336) Aeneas is carried into the fray. Both the words of the priest and the will of the gods, which is also revealed in Panthus' words, hurl him along. The gods are cruelly bent on the destruction of Troy, and so far Aeneas is no more than any other Trojan warrior. Jupiter therefore or the gods' will is against him, and the Erinys, the Fury of battle, calls him. In this situation the only road open to a warrior leads into fighting. For a brief space, the Trojans fight disguised as Greeks, 'not under their own divinity', that is, they fight victoriously, under Greek gods.[22] But then, since 'it was not right for anyone to trust the gods against their will' (402),[23] their luck turns and disaster descends. Aeneas fights for his city and his people with no regard for his life, so that he would have died if it had been his fate to die (433). Here is a tiny inkling that fate might separate Aeneas' lot from that of Troy. Then together with others he rushes to the defence of Priam's palace and from the roof witnesses the old king's death. Seized by terror he remembers his own father, wife, and son. Looking around he finds that the others have given up and left: Aeneas is completely isolated. At that moment he sees Helen crouching at the altar of Vesta and swept by a burst of passion he desires to kill her and so 'avenge his city and exact punishment for her crime' (576). At that moment, Venus appearing to him in her own divine form checks him: his anger is 'uncontrolled' (594), because his love for Anchises, Creusa, and Ascanius seems to be forgotten, and further because neither Helen nor Paris is the cause of Troy's Fall; it is the 'inclemency', the cruelty of the gods (*diuum inclementia* 602) which is destroying it. Therefore, quite apart from neglecting his own people, Aeneas is mistaken in his reason for wanting to kill Helen. His anger is 'uncontrolled' because it should have been checked by love (*cura* 595), and through the vision of Venus it will now be checked most powerfully by a true understanding of the causes of Troy's Fall.

It is plain that even the memory of Anchises, Creusa, and Ascanius did not have the power to move Aeneas to go to their help. Troy is still what means most to him, even if it is only a matter of a silly vengeance taken on a mere woman. He, like all around him, has been under the sway of Jupiter and the other gods bent on destroying Troy; and in the course of this he has certainly shown himself to be a heroic warrior with no fear of death and a great love for his own country. It is however only the intervention of his divine mother Venus that plucks him out of this destructive sway and has the power to turn him into a new direction: to save his father, wife, and son out of the flames of Troy and flee.

But Anchises is not willing to leave Troy. At this point, it must be realised that Anchises is the head and leader of his family, and Aeneas, even though he is a mature man, has to bow to his *patria potestas.*[24] When Anchises refuses to flee, Aeneas will not leave him, but he reverts to his previous impotence in wanting to die fighting. Anchises is an old man shattered by grief. He also wants to die in battle and in his despair does not even care about burial, usually so important for a Roman.[25] He says: 'For years I have been lingering, obnoxious to heaven and useless To mankind, ever since the ruler of gods and men Blasted me with the searing breath of his levin-flash' (647ff). What is the meaning of Anchises having been struck by lightning? If it were punishment for his boasting about his marriage with Venus, a goddess, as the tradition of the fifth Homeric hymn and commentators maintain,[26] it would detract from his stature. This would still be so, even if his crippling through the thunderbolt does, as Austin suggests, fit in well with the hopelessness and despair of the old man in this scene. The real meaning is suggested by Servius auct. on 649: 'Men with crippled limbs are called 'blasted and struck' *(afflati tactique)* just as also he who founded this city was struck *(tactus),* namely Romulus.' The same source goes on: 'About lightnings the following is found written in secret writings that if lightning has blasted *(afflauerit)* the leader of a state or a king and he survives it, his descendants will be famous and have glory.'[27] The fact that Anchises has been struck by lightning means then that he was marked out by Jupiter for great things: divinity or great descendants or both. But so far Anchises knows nothing about this. In his despair he is aware only of his disability. Into the midst of this situation breaks the miracle of the mysterious fire surrounding the head of Ascanius. Father Anchises, suddenly full of joy at the sight of this omen, prays to almighty Jupiter for confirmation of it. The god's reply comes immediately in thunder on the left and a tailed star falling in the direction of Mount Ida, pointing the way of their flight.[28] Anchises is convinced and ready to be carried out of Troy by Aeneas, carrying himself the images of the Trojan gods. It is plain that the flight of Aeneas and his followers from Troy under the leadership of Anchises, father of the house, is instigated by Jupiter himself, while Venus has prepared the ground as far as

Aeneas is concerned. When finally Creusa has been lost and Aeneas meets her spirit, she explains that the 'lord of Olympus on high' (779) will not let her accompany Aeneas; he will come to Hesperia where the Tiber flows and find a kingdom and a royal wife. Aeneas sadly resigns himself to her loss.

Inset: Book 3

The inset in the Second Phase continues with Book 3 in which Aeneas describes to Dido his journey together with Anchises and the fugitive Trojans from Troy to Sicily. The journey is divinely guided and accompanied by many prophecies. The narrative is constructed in three parts, each consisting of three episodes.[29] While the travellers are uncertain where fate is taking them (7), they know that they are led by signs from the gods (5).[30] When they try to settle in Thrace—there was a tradition connecting Aeneas with a settlement[31]—the ghostly voice and blood of murdered Polydorus warns them off. At Delos, Apollo tells them to 'seek their ancient mother' (96), which is interpreted by Anchises as Crete. It is from here that Teucrus came, ancestor of the Trojan line, and Cybele, divine mother of Jupiter, and the name Ida, transferred from the Cretan mountain to the goddess's mountain in the Troad. In Crete Aeneas founds a city which he calls Pergamea (133) which is again associated with a historical place-name in Crete,[32] but a plague befalls the settlers. Before they can obtain a new prophecy from Delos, Apollo himself sends the Penates to Aeneas telling him to travel to Italy. Anchises 'realised that our people were of double ancestry, of twofold parentage, and that he had been deceived by a new mistake about ancient lands' (180f)[33] and then recalls a prophecy of Cassandra's about Italy. While Anchises was mistaken about settling in Crete, the emphasis on Cybele and Mount Ida of the Troad through its origins from Crete is important within this 'preparatory' book: Cybele of Trojan Mount Ida, who has provided the trees for Aeneas' fleet, will save the Trojan ships from the firebrands of Turnus by turning them with Jupiter's consent into sea-nymphs (9.77ff), who in turn will help Aeneas (10.219ff).[34]

The next, central part of this book is rich in prophecy. The monstrous Harpy Celaeno[35] foretells what she learned from Apollo and Apollo from Jupiter (251), that the Trojans will safely land in Italy, but that they will not be able to build their city walls until, driven by hunger, they will be forced to 'eat their tables' (253ff). After a voyage past several islands and the celebration of the

Trojan Games—which points forward to the full description of these games in Book 5[36]—they come to Buthrotum where they find a 'small Troy' (349) ruled by a son of Priam, Helenus, priest of Apollo. His prophecy is the 'centrepiece' of this book.[37] Helenus, first and foremost, affirms that Aeneas is travelling the seas by the will of Jupiter.[38] He is prevented from telling him *all* the future by the Fates and by Juno. He foretells the omen of the sow which will divinely indicate the right place for building Aeneas' city (388ff),[39] and he relieves his fears concerning Celaeno's prophecy. After detail about Scylla and Charybdis, Helenus warns Aeneas with very great emphasis to reconcile Juno (433ff). Only if he can vanquish her with gifts and prayers, will he be sent victoriously to the Italian shore. This warning not only comprises what has already happened through Juno's storm, but also hints at troubles ahead caused by Juno until the landing by the Tiber. Finally he foretells Aeneas' visit to the Cumaean Sibyl who will explain to him the Italian peoples, the war in Italy, and how to deal with it all (458ff). This prophecy covers not only Book 6, but indirectly the whole second half of the epic.

At the beginning of the third part, the Trojans sight Italy for the first time with great joy (522ff). It is no accident that the first place on which they touch bears a temple of Minerva on its citadel. Here they encounter their 'first omen' (537), four white horses grazing. Anchises interprets it as a sign of war but also a sign of hope for peace. Here again, the war in Italy is foreshadowed, but—beyond what Helenus told—the expectation of peace in the end. The far-off goal of peace and concord (*frena iugo concordia* 542) is sounded for the first time since Jupiter's prophecy in the first book. The Trojans pray to the warrior goddess Pallas who is the first to receive them on Italian soil (544), Pallas, daughter of Jupiter, and working with and for him.[40] They also sacrifice to Juno as Helenus had bidden them. After arrival at Drepanum in Sicily, Anchises dies. Henceforth, Aeneas will be the leader of the Trojans and the interpreter of the divine will.[41]

Books 4 and 5 (to 603)

The second, much more intense stage of Dido's 'possession' begins in Book 4 when her passion is a wound nourished by her life-blood. What Cupido began, namely to efface the memory of Sychaeus and to kindle a new love, is soon brought to completion. Dido tries to resist his impact, calling upon Jupiter to strike her with his lightning and hurl her down into the darkness of bottom-less night, if she refuses to fulfil the claims of the loyalty she owes to Sychaeus.[42] She continues: 'He who first joined me to him has carried off my love, let him have it with him and keep it in the grave' (24f). The claim of loyalty is soon rejected (*soluitque pudorem* 55), and the spirit of the god who possesses her burns within her (66f, 101). But it is certain that Jupiter will fulfil both the curse which will lead to Dido's death and perhaps her desire for union in love with Sychaeus.[43] Presently Venus is joined by Juno. Venus had hoped to forestall Juno's hostility to Aeneas. As it is, she has by her guile given her an opening. Juno proposes to Venus marriage between Aeneas and Dido and equal powers for the two goddesses over the royal couple and their peoples. Venus sees through this plan at once: it is cunningly designed to divert empire from Rome to Carthage (105f). She is not however prepared to oppose Juno. But she knows that Jupiter and fate do not approve of a union of Tyrians and Trojans and suggests that Juno should try to persuade Jupiter. Having heard Jupiter's forecast for Rome (Book 1) she knows that this suggestion is dishonest and futile. Juno's reply is just as dishonest when she says, 'That task will be mine' (115). She will do nothing about seeking Jupiter's consent. The two goddesses are working in opposition to Jupiter and pretend to each other that they might not be.

Juno proposes to bring Dido and Aeneas together in a cave by a thunderstorm: 'I shall be present, and if your goodwill is certain to me, I will join them in lasting marriage "and I will consecrate her as his true wife".[44] This will be their wedding' (125ff). The flavour of these words is, at the same time, intensely solemn and thoroughly dishonest. Juno, goddess of marriage, may be present at the meeting in the cave, as in fact she is as *pronuba* who hands the bride over to the bridegroom. She may have the consent of Venus which means that the two become lovers.[45] But can she join them in a *lasting* wedlock? And can she consecrate her as his true wife?[46] But this is not a statement of fact of what Juno will actually do. It is what she wants to brazen out against the will of fate and of Jupiter which is well known to her.[47] Venus gives her assent and laughs in delight at the ruse invented by Juno and recognized as such by herself *(dolis . . . repertis)*,[48] as she later on is delighted by her own ruse of beguiling Vulcan into the promise of making armour for Aeneas (8.393).[49] Perhaps she also laughs at Juno, since she knows through Jupiter's prophecy that the ruse will not lead to the desired end.[50] It is plain that, in this conversation, the two goddesses are deeply immersed in layer upon layer of duplicity and intrigue. Such is the nature of the divine powers that impinge on Dido and Aeneas when compelled by Juno's storm they meet in the cave and are surrounded by Juno's elemental wedding ceremony. We are not told what happens between them. But the effect of what has happened emerges gradually.

The poet immediately points to its deadly consequences for Dido. She is now encouraged to disregard public opinion. The intensity of her love has grown so as to brush aside her dignity as a queen. She 'calls' what has happened 'marriage' which implies that it was not marriage. We learn later from Aeneas' speech that he never explicitly consented to marry Dido (4.338f). Under the sway of Venus Dido loves with increasing passion, under the sway of Juno she pretends and believes to be marriage what is not marriage. The goddesses have imparted to her their own dishonesty. Dido deceives others and herself.

What about Aeneas? Before the cave scene, he is ignorant of Dido's love like the shepherd who without knowing has inflicted a fatal wound on a doe (72). After the cave scene, the poet calls him, together with Dido, 'lovers forgetful of their better reputation' (221). He is in love with Dido and, like her, has ceased to care about his dignity as the king of his people. This is represented even more forcefully when Mercury finds him arrayed in the splendour of an Eastern potentate building Dido's city, Carthage. But in his speech of defence he says that he has never held the wedding torches of a husband or entered into a marriage contract (*foedera* 339). He has acted and felt as Dido's husband, but he has never, in the end, consented to be her husband. Under the double influence of Venus and Juno he is as ambiguous and dishonest as they are.

The influence of the goddesses is less overtly violent than, for instance, when Allecto seizes on her victims: one would hardly call it 'possession'. But it is just as thorough: a thick pall of poison.[51] This is dispersed by Jupiter's intervention.

For Aeneas it is cut off at one blow by the impact of Mercury's appearance. While Aenas is building Carthage as the city's future king at the side of Queen Dido, he is, literally, 'attacked' (*inuadit* 265) by Mercury, sent by Jupiter, reproaching him with founding Carthage instead of his own destined kingdom. After Mercury's speech and his disappearance, which reveals clearly his divinity, Aeneas is described as utterly terrified: speechless, beside himself, his hair standing on end, his voice stuck in his throat. We of today should expect an inner conflict between his love for Dido and what we call 'duty'. Instead, Aeneas is so shaken by the tremendous command of the god that he is immediately set on leaving, a note of regret being sounded only in that he is leaving a 'beloved land' (*dulces . . . terras* 281). What we have here is a violent ingression of the divine into a human life and immediate obedience to the god's call.[52] Only after this does a conflict arise in Aeneas, and it is concerned with the urgent question of how to break the news of his departure to Dido.

Soon after, the coming of Mercury is described by Aeneas himself in his self-defence before Dido. But it is there preceded by other warnings that should have driven him to leave for Italy: oracles of Apollo from Gryneum and from Lycia, the nightly vision of his father Anchises urging him on, and the realization of the wrong being done to Ascanius. According to Austin (346), 'We are not told when these utterances had been given, nor when Aeneas had had the visions of Anchises referred to below.' But we do know that they preceded the coming of Mercury to an Aeneas who was building Carthage, and this means that the warnings of Apollo and of Anchises and the thought of Ascanius had not been able to move him. His love for Dido and the desire to build this city here and now made him deaf to all other voices until 'now' (356) when he has himself seen the messenger god in the light of divine effulgence[53] entering the walls, and has heard his message.

Under the influence of Juno and Venus Aeneas has been all but lost to his mission. Being a man of strong emotions, he has acted out of his love for Dido and his longing to found his own city quickly. The god's command, a clarion-call, violently jerks him out of this situation, and he obeys at once. The effort it costs Aeneas to keep control over his emotions is evident in the rigid fixedness of his eyes (he dare not look at Dido) and in the words, 'he was struggling hard to keep the pain of his love deep down in his heart' (*obnixus curam sub corde premebat* 331f). The coldness of his speech is the outcome of this barely sustained control.[54] Aeneas is not 'cold'. It is precisely because he loves first Troy and then Dido and her city with such intense fervour that it is hard for him to leave both behind. He has to learn to attach the great warmth of his passionate nature to his future city about which as yet he knows nothing.[55] When at this point he says to Dido about Italy: 'This is my love, this is my country' (*hic amor, haec patria est* 347), he knows it to be true out of his obedience to the god, that is all. But the tension within Aeneas is not as simple as one beween mind and body. If Dido had meant nothing but pleasure to him, he would not have been so concerned to break the news gently (293) and to console her in her grief (393), nor would he have treasured her gifts so much that he wrapped the dead Pallas in a robe she had made (11.72ff). This is a tension between a command of the highest god and a real love, albeit distorted by the two deceitful goddesses.

The effect of Mercury's message prevents Aeneas from being tempted when Anna pleads with him again and again on Dido's behalf: 'Fate blocked them, heaven *(deus)* stopped his ears lest he turn complaisant' (439f). This is hardly a new divine intervention, but it is the continuation of what went before. The solid firmness in Aeneas is described by the simile of the storm-tossed but upright oak tree and most strikingly by the concluding line: 'His mind remains unmoved, his tears roll down in vain' (*mens immota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes* 449).[56] The tears of Aeneas show the intensity of the man's love which is yet controlled by his mind now obedient to the God. Again, the passionate warmth of this man is evident together with his god-fearing obedience.

Once more Mercury intervenes, appearing to Aeneas in a dream and urging him to leave at once (554ff). Aeneas is immediately ready to set out with his people (573ff), and he prays to the god: 'O be thou near, and give us thy kindly help, bring us stars of grace across the heavens.'[57] With this intervention by Mercury and Aeneas' prayer in response to it, departure and voyage are placed under the protection of Mercury and through him of Jupiter.[58] The latter is obliquely indicated when, at the beginning of Book 5, the steersman Palinurus in the face of a storm cannot keep on his course to Italy, but has to turn in the direction of Sicily. He says to Aeneas: 'Not even if Jupiter "should pledge it with all his authority," could I hope to reach Italy "in weather like this"' (5.17f),[59] and he proposes to follow fortune where it calls them. Aeneas is 'god-fearing' and 'loyal' (*pius* 5.26), because he delights in having to voyage to Sicily where he will find Acestes and the grave of Anchises. As the ships turn eastward, their sails are swelled by favourable winds. Speaking to his companions and friends on the Sicilian shore, Aeneas says that they have come to his father's ashes and bones 'not without the mind, without the will of the gods' (5.56). It is plain that this unexpected direction of the voyage is divinely guided and that the goal of this voyage is the grave of Anchises.

The libations which Aeneas offers at the grave to his father's spirit are graciously received. For a mighty snake comes out of the temple-like tomb (5.84)[60] and partakes of the food and then disappears again into the depth of the tomb. Aeneas is uncertain whether this is the spirit of the place (*geniumne loci* 95) or a servant of his father. According to Williams (on 95), 'there is ultimately little difference between these alternative views of the snake: it represents the spirit of Anchises appearing at his own tomb.' For the spirit of this place which is Anchises' tomb is certainly the spirit of Anchises; or if the snake is the 'attendant spirit' of Anchises, it does by tasting of the offering express Anchises' acceptance of the sacrifice. The spirit of Anchises, however, is more than the spirit of a human father. By calling him 'divine' (47), by mentioning in relation to him a temple, a blood offering, an altar, an innermost sanctuary, the sacrifice of the *suauetaurilia,* a priest. and a sacred grove,[61] Virgil suggests that he is a god, a deified hero.[62] Through the snake of Anchises having accepted the libation of Aeneas, it is also plain that the divine spirit of Anchises will be present and accept the honour done to him by the performance of the Funeral Games. Happiness accompanies obedience to the gods and pervades the celebration of the Games,[63] in which Aeneas for the first time enjoys the company of his men as their leader.

The presence of divinity is felt during the Games themselves when Acestes, deprived of a target, yet shoots his arrow into the skies which, bursting into flames like a shooting star, is a mighty prodigy (519ff). Acknowledging the omen, Aeneas honours Acestes by giving him as a prize a mixing bowl once belonging to Anchises. It is the spirit of Anchises himself who will presently (728ff, 711ff) confirm the omen when he confirms Nautes' proposal of founding a city, Segesta, under the leadership of Acestes.[64]

Let us turn back and consider what befalls Dido when Jupiter's command through Mercury snatches Aeneas from her side: how does she fare at the hands of the gods, and what is her attitude to the gods? After the central speech of Aeneas in which he rejects her pleas she feels that now neither mighty Juno nor Jupiter looks at her in her distress with just and gracious eyes (4.372). She feels utterly deserted and turns to mockery against the divine powers that demand Aeneas' departure (376ff).[65] But in her fury she soon again hopes that some righteous divine powers (*pia numina* 382) may punish Aeneas for what he has done to her. When her renewed pleading through Anna has failed, she is 'terrified by fate'

(450). For now through Aeneas' refusal she realizes the finality of fate's decree concerning Aeneas,[66] and in her terror she prays for death: the curse which she has called upon herself from Jupiter is beginning to be fulfilled. This is indicated in the words (452) 'in order that she might all the more bring to completion what she had begun and so depart from the light, she saw' the sacred water on the altar turn black and her libation of wine turn to blood. The purpose expressed in the first part of this sentence is not hers. Virgil does not say whose it is. But what happens to her gifts to the gods shows that divine powers are driving her towards her death. This continues when the voice of Sychaeus seems to call her from his shrine by night, which recalls her wish that he should keep her love with him in his grave (29). An owlet hoots plaintively, an omen of death, and Dido now remembers the terrifying replies which she previously received from the priests and neglected (464, 65).[67] This pressure from the hostile world of divine spirits culminates in terrible dreams in which Aeneas becomes a fierce pursuer and she is lonely and finally mad,[68] like Pentheus and Orestes who in their madness feel pursued by the Eumenides, by the murdered mother armed with torches and black snakes while the avenging Cruel Ones sit on the threshold. In these similes, the action moves on beyond the point in the narrative from which they both begin, namely, those dreams of persecution and desperate lonely wandering. For, in their madness, both Pentheus and Orestes feel pursued: in fact, Orestes is pursued by his mother's spirit who has become a Fury, and on the threshold sit waiting for him the 'vengeful Cruel Ones' *(ultrices . . . Dirae).* Here, the effect of the Cruel Goddesses is described in terms of what happens in Dido's mind. In consequence (*ergo* 474) of the divine hostility pursuing her since her recognition of the ineluctability of fate and her prayer for death, 'beaten to her knees by agony' (474)[69] she 'took into herself' *(concepit)* the 'furies'[70] and decided to die. The scene of magic which is prepared for and then executed shows her madness in sombre tones. It culminates in and is relieved by her prayer in which she, on the verge of death, calls to witness the gods and the stars that are aware of fate's decree and then prays to any divine spirit who, both just and unforgetting, takes care of those who love not with an equal bond (*non aequo foedere amantes* 520f). She prays blindly without yet knowing that Jupiter by fulfilling her curse will bring her through death back to Sychaeus who loves her with an equal love (6.474). A night spent in anguish and turmoil, the curse called down upon Aeneas and his descendants,[71] these are stages in her mad passion. But at the very height of her fury she now acknowledges the limit set by the 'fate of Jupiter' (4.614). It is this recognition and acceptance found in the face of death which allows her in her last words to regain the sense of the sweetness of her love, 'while fate and the god allowed it' (651). It is also this acceptance of fate which makes her free to be once again the great queen proud of her achievements and hopeful that she may be avenged on Aeneas for the hurt and humiliation he has brought upon her.

It is 'almighty Juno' who at last releases Dido's struggling soul in death. She does it from pity (693), showing here alone consideration for this victim of her own rebellion against Jupiter and fate. It was her ruse of the contrived meeting in the cave which was the beginning of Dido's death (169), and the fact that Juno, in the end, completes this undeserved death (694f) shows up with grim factualness her guilt.

To sum up the second phase, Dido, the noble queen, is wretchedly possessed by Cupido. Her last cry of self-defence is her self-condemning prayer to Jupiter. Then she succumbs; and when Juno joins Venus, she sinks into a desperate duplicity under their double influence. Aeneas, ignorant at first of Dido's love, also succumbs to the combined forces of Venus and Juno in the cave and loves Dido with passion but no sincerity. When through the vision of Mercury Aeneas is removed, Dido's curse against herself, that is, Jupiter's fulfilment of it, drives her mad and towards death. Juno finally consummates this death which her guileful rebellion against Jupiter in collusion with Venus has caused. Under the impact of the vision of Mercury Aeneas leaves and does not falter. Divinely sent breezes divert him to Sicily, to the grave of his father, now a divine spirit whom he honours and who through the snake accepts his offerings.

The primacy of irresistible divine action is as plain as the suffering caused to the human beings under the gods' sway. Each in their own way, both Dido and Aeneas have been compelled to see that 'fate and the god' cannot be evaded. The influences of the spiritual 'atmosphere' of the gods on the human world is also striking: a thick fog of passion and deception stifles human life under Venus and Juno, while with the ingression of Jupiter's will Aeneas is set on to the clear path of his mission and Dido on to the road to death and the recovery of her own nobility. Her death will also mean joining her true husband Sychaeus.

Aeneas' tale in the Inset of Books 2 and 3 follows closely on Dido being 'possessed' by Cupido and increases her passion. The two main events of Book 2 are initiated by the gods. The Fall of Troy is brought about by all the major gods together, only Apollo not being mentioned; and the flight of the Trojans out of Troy is instigated by Venus in relation to Aeneas and—what is more important at this stage—by Jupiter in relation to Anchises. It is also prepared for and supported by the *prodigium* of Laocoon's death, by the dream vision of Hector and the apparition of Creusa.

The journey of the Trojans in Book 3 from Troy to Sicily is divinely guided all the way, at first by the ghost of a dead man, Polydorus, mainly by Apollo,[72] at Delos first, at Crete through the Penates, at Buthrotum through Helenus. The further future is prophesied by Celaeno behind whom are Apollo and Jupiter, and by Apollo's priest Helenus who predicts the visit to the Sibyl at Cumae, the omen of the white sow and the Italian war. The omen of the white horses foreshadows both war and the peace that lies beyond the end of the *Aeneid.*

Again, every major step in the action of these two books is controlled by the gods, Book 2 dealing more with the past of the narrating Aeneas, Book 3 with the past and through prophecies and omens with his future. The main divine agents are Jupiter, Venus, and Apollo.[73]

Third Phase (5.604—7.285)

Book 5

After the Funeral Games in honour of Anchises, a change in the situation is explicitly indicated: 'At this point for the first time Fortune changed and broke faith with them' (5.604).[1] Juno, her ancient anger still unquenched, sends Iris down to the Trojan fleet, which is deserted.[2] The Trojan women are lamenting the death of Anchises; they also weep as they look out to sea, because they are weary of travel and long to settle down in a city of their own. Their attitude and mood is such as to lay them open to evil influence, evil in the sense that it is an influence that leads to disobedience against Fate and the will of Jupiter. Iris, 'not ignorant of how to do damage' and as such an appropriate messenger of Juno, disguises herself as Beroe, an old Trojan woman. Expressing their own wishes, she incites the women to rebellion, and plucking a fire-brand from Neptune's altar hurls it at one of the ships. The action of firing the ships is thus begun by a goddess in fulfilment of Juno's will. The minds of the Trojan women are roused and their hearts are stunned (643). Then an old venerable woman declares that this is not in fact old Beroe, but a goddess recognizable by her blazing eyes, her bearing, her face, her voice, and gait.[3] The Trojan women, looking at the ships, are now torn between their wretched love of the land which is under their feet and the kingdom calling them by Fate's decree (655f). When things hang in the balance, 'the goddess rises up through the sky on even wings, and as she escapes sets a huge rainbow under the clouds' (657f). This self-revelation turns her inflammatory speech into a divine command. The women are thunderstruck by the strange thing they see and driven by raving passion set the ships on fire.

But when first Ascanius and then also Aeneas and all the Trojans rush to the scene, they scatter in fear all over the beach and hide in the woods and among the rocks: 'They hate what they have undertaken and the light (of life); changed they recognize their own people, and Juno is thrown out of their heart' (678f).

This last phrase *(excussaque pectore Iuno est)* suggests 'possession' by a spirit. The same expression is used when the Sibyl tries to 'throw off' the god out of her heart (*magnum si pectore possit excussisse deum* 6.78f). Also they are 'changed' and 'recognize their own people'. This implies that, when they were 'driven by madness' (659) under the influence of Iris and Juno, they were blind and could not recognize their own.[4] As Ascanius says (671), they seem to imagine that they are attacking the ships of the Greeks with firebrands, as Hector did before he was driven off by Patroclus. In their desire to settle in Sicily they have certainly felt the ships as hostile, because they would carry them further over the sea.[5]

It is clear that Juno through Iris sets moving the burning of the ships and by entering the minds and hearts of the Trojan women fills them with passion until they have done the evil deed desired by the goddess. When the rebellious spirit of Juno is cast out, they return to clarity and, recognizing the situation, they are afraid and flee the scene of their misdeed. Both 'divine instigation' of the action and 'possession' are plain in this scene. It is also clear that the attitude and mood of the women from the beginning opens up the possibility of destructive divine instigation and possession.

The counter-move from Jupiter comes in response to Aeneas' call. When the women have fled, but the fire rages beyond control, Aeneas 'godfearing' (*pius* 685) tears his clothes off his shoulders in grief[6] and prays to almighty Jupiter for help for the Trojan cause or for death by the thunderbolt. Jupiter immediately extinguishes the fire by a sudden rainstorm. For the first time, Aeneas in a moment of need turns spontaneously to Jupiter in prayer. In the midst of the storm in Book 1 he invoked the spirits of the Trojan dead. In the midst of his attachment to Dido, he was, at least in part, unaware of his failure to obey his destiny, and Jupiter himself through Mercury plucked him right out of that situation. Here at last he himself turns to Jupiter, just as Anchises had done in the face of the flames on Ascanius' head (2.687ff).[7] Aeneas is growing to the stature of a king. For a king is more closely related to Jupiter than any other human being.[8] All this happens with dramatic speed.

But in spite of Jupiter's immediate fulfilment of his request Aeneas is shaken. In face of the narrow escape of the ships and the rebellion of the women, he is, as not before, tormented by indecision whether to settle in Sicily and forget his destiny or to seek to reach Italy. In Carthage, he seemed to fall for Dido without hesitation and then to leave her at Jupiter's bidding without hesitation, although with a sore heart. Here at last Aeneas himself becomes explicitly aware of conflict between the possibility of settling in Sicily against fate and sailing for Italy with fate.[9] This is a truly tragic dilemma. Jupiter's immediate response to his prayer has shown him the goodwill of the Lord of the world who in fulfilment of fate is sending him to Latium. On the other hand, Aeneas had during the Games, for the first time since the death of Anchises, been at home among his people as their leader. Then the blow came with the rebellion of the women: a large section of his people is not with him, in fact against him and his journey. Must he, in obedience to fate, force them to travel on or must he disregard fate and give in to his weary people?[10] The answer comes to him again from the divine world, in two ways, through the words of old Nautes, prophet of Pallas Athene, and through the spirit of Anchises sent by Jupiter.[11] Through Nautes, Pallas Athene used to reveal the anger of the gods or the march of fate (5.706f). It is on her authority then that he says: 'Wherever the fates draw us in their ebb and flow, let us follow; whatever shall betide, fortune must always be overcome by endurance' (709).[12] This is Stoic teaching.[13] What Nautes suggests is willing obedience to the ordinance of fate and patiently enduring anything that may befall *(fortuna)* on the way. This means that here Aeneas is advised to learn to follow the call of Fate out of his own free will instead of being dragged along by Fate. How is Aeneas going to find the will and the strength to do this? The answer will come through the vision of Anchises. But in the meantime Nautes suggests a practical solution of the present crisis. He advises Aeneas to found a settlement under the leadership of Acestes for those who are travel-weary and those who have lost their ships.

It might be argued that Nautes' advice is unnecessary: Aeneas should have stuck to fate and been intelligent enough to have found a practical solution himself. But this is not the way in which Virgil envisages the action of his epic at this stage: so far human action is determined by divine will, and Aeneas here is a man guided by divine counsel.

Tormented by indecision, Aeneas is granted a vision of his father.[14] The spirit of Anchises has come 'at the command of Jupiter' (726). This makes it clear that what Anchises goes on to propose is spoken out of the mind of Jupiter. Anchises first endorses the practical advice given by Nautes.[15] Next he asks Aeneas to visit him in Elysium: 'Then you will be taught all your race and the walls to be granted to you' (737). This means that the whole visit to the Underworld is undertaken at the instigation of Jupiter and, more particularly, the meeting of Aeneas with Anchises in Elysium and what Aeneas is taught there. The sea voyage to Cumae is protected by Neptune whom Venus, 'harassed by cares' (779), begs to ward off the anger of Juno 'who is not calming down checked by Jove's command and fate' (784). Venus here explicitly describes Juno's rebellion and, no longer in alliance with her, takes her stand on the side of fate when she adds to her request: 'If I seek what is permitted, if the Fates grant those walls' (798). Neptune fulfils her request, only demanding *one* life, that of Palinurus who is drowned.[16]

Entering the grove and temple at Cumae (Book 6), Aeneas comes into the precinct of Apollo and Triuia. The Sibyl, who is the priestess of both (6.35), 'possessed' by Apollo[17] prophesies with oracular obscurity future events in Italy as told in the second half of the epic. When Venus has helped Aeneas to find the Golden Bough and when he has propitiated the gods of the Beyond at the Sibyl's instruction, the latter accompanies him through the Underworld and out of it (897). This implies that he is under the protection of Apollo and Triuia throughout the journey. What happens to him on the way to Elysium is a preparation for his arrival there. He parts step by step from his past, from his immediate past in Palinurus, from the experience of love and guilt in Dido, from Troy in mutilated Deiphobus.[18] In the meeting with Aeneas, Dido is granted the just revenge for which she prayed (4.520f): she now rejects Aeneas' love as he had rejected hers. She also receives from Sychaeus a love equal to her own for which she had yearned.[19] Significantly, too, the first three sinners or groups of sinners punished in Tartarus are the Titans, the Aloides, and Salmoneus, all of whom have sinned against Jupiter. The climax is the meeting with Anchises and his teaching about the cosmic spirit and his body, the cosmos, that is about Jupiter as the One God, about the future great men of Roman history, and about Rome herself. We have already seen to what extent Anchises' description of the cosmos, in his first speech, pictures in the most pregnant form the whole world of the *Aeneid*. The exhortations at the end of his second speech, quite apart from being directed to any Roman of the future, establish the key ideas which will rule Aeneas' actions in all that follows.[20] These ideas are concerened with war and with peace.

Sailing north from Cumae (Book 7) along the Italian coast, the Trojans are once again protected by Neptune. As their ships pass the shores of Circe, Neptune fills the Trojans' sails so that they may not be forced ashore and be turned into wild beasts by Circe's witchcraft. Neptune, brother of Jupiter, protects Aeneas and his men, as he did in the storm of Book 1 and on the voyage between Sicily and Cumae in Book 5. What is meant by the danger of the Trojans being turned into lions, pigs, bears, and wolves? Homer's island of Circe had been localized in the promontory of Circeii, so that this might be simply a piece of the *Odyssey* transferred to the shore of Italy. But the *Odyssey* was not, as we have seen,[21] taken at its face value in Virgil's time, and the story of Circe and Odysseus and his companions certainly was read as an allegory.[22]

Circe represented the threat of all-engulfing pleasure which, by the delights of the senses, by wine and love, degrades a man into a beast, or else Circe was even a whore herself. Neptune, who quelled the storm of the passionate winds in Book 1, as a man of piety and merit stills the fury of a rebellious mob, here guides the godfearing Trojans safely past Circe's haunts. This imagery means that now Aeneas and his men are under the protection of Jupiter's brother and have put behind them such temptations as are represented by Circe. In particular, Aeneas has overcome the lure of love and of wealth as he met it in Dido and can now safely travel past and beyond it.[23] The Trojans are called *pii* here, as Aeneas was called *pius* the moment he broke with Dido (4.393).

The situation in Latium has been prepared for Aeneas' arrival by divine influences. The hand of Lavinia, daughter of King Latinus, is sought by Turnus, chief of the Rutulians, who is favoured by Amata, the Queen. 'But portents of the gods with a variety of terrors are against it' (7.58). A swarm of bees, symbol of a foreign conqueror, has settled on the ancient laurel tree sacred to Apollo. Lavinia's head and body are suddenly surrounded by a rush of flames, image of glory and of war. The prophetic voice of Faunus, ancestor of Latinus, warns him that Lavinia must marry a man from abroad, and the news of this prophecy is spreading among the people when the Trojans tie their ships to the river's bank. So far divine influence has worked as a voice of directive and warning in terms of omens twice, one connected with Apollo, and through the prophetic word of an Italian ancestral god Faunus. The warning is in full accord with Jupiter's will and Fate.

As the poet turns to Aeneas and his men, he moves directly into the sphere of action of Jupiter. It was he who made the Trojans place spelt cakes under the sparse food (*sic Jupiter ipse monebat* 110) so that they ate their tables and thus fulfilled the prophecy of the Harpy Celaeno (3.247ff), a prophecy which the 'Almighty Father' had foretold Apollo and which Apollo handed on to Celaeno. When Aeneas understands the omen of the 'eating of the tables' as a divine indication that they have now reached their new homeland and as he offers libation and prayers to all the divine powers about him, Jupiter himself expresses his consent: 'To these words the Father Almighty clear and bright thundered three times from the lofty sky and himself shook in his hand and showed forth from the ether a cloud burning with the rays of a golden light' (7.141ff). The day of the foundation of their city seems close. Ilioneus, leader of the Trojan embassy to Latinus, emphasizes the intimate connection of his people and his king with Jupiter: 'From Jove stems the beginning of our race, the Trojan manhood delights in Jove their ancestor, and the king himself stems from the exalted race of Jove' (219f). The Trojan embassy to Latinus and the king's reply in obedience to Faunus proceed with the approval and under the auspices of Jupiter: land for a settlement and the hand of Lavinia are offered, and the prospect of secure peace on the basis of a treaty is the outcome.[24]

To sum up, the third phase forms the central portion in the plot of the *Aeneid*. It comprizes about a third of Book 5, Book 6 as a whole, and rather less than a third of Book 7. It begins with explicit abruptness by Juno through Iris inciting the Trojan women to set the ships on fire. Jupiter counters this attack by extinguishing the fire with rain and sending the spirit of Anchises to Aeneas with the message to come to meet him in Elysium. The journey through the Underworld is thus instigated by Jupiter. The sea voyages from Sicily to Cumae and from Cumae to the Tiber are protected by Neptune at the request of Venus who now works on the side of fate. The finality of arrival is confirmed by Jupiter through the table omen and thunder, having been prepared for among the Latins by omens and the prophecy of Faunus.

Throughout these complex events, the main steps in the action are initiated first by Juno through Iris and then, as a counter-action, by Jupiter himself in the storm, the command to Anchises, the table omen, and the thunder. His line of action is supported by divine agents clearly on his side: Venus (now free of Cupido), Neptune, Anchises, Apollo, and Faunus.

Fourth Phase (7.286–12.133, 215)

Book 7

With *ecce autem* (286) the action is once again abruptly turned by the impact of a different divine power: Juno enters the scene.[1]

When fierce Juno sees the Trojans peacefully settling down in the land of King Latinus, 'she stood pierced by sharp pain' (291). As in Book 1, she pours forth her frustration in a monologue.[2] She reviews the astounding success of the beaten Trojans, mocks at her own apparent calm, recounts with exasperation her attempts to thwart them, thinks of Mars and Diana who destroyed peoples whom they hated with Jupiter's consent, and finally sees herself defeated by Aeneas (*uincor ab Aenea* 310). She concludes that her own powers are not great enough, and determines to seek help where she can: 'If I cannot bend the heavenly gods to my will, I will stir up the Underworld' (*flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta mouebo* 312). She has tried to fight Aeneas with the help of Aeolus (Book 1), in connivance with Venus (Book 4), with Iris and fire (Book 5). But the Heavenly Ones, Neptune and above all Jupiter, have thwarted her each time. Therefore she realizes that Fate stands unaltered: the Trojans will rule in Latium, and Lavinia will be the bride of Aeneas. Juno is now resigned to this extent. Here, the limits which the powers of Fate and of Jupiter impose on Juno's activities even when she is at her worst are briefly visible. But there is still a course of action open which gives scope to Juno's anger, and there are other helpers: Juno can delay the inevitable union of Aeneas and Lavinia and of their peoples by driving them into war against each other; and this can be done with the help of the Underworld, with the help of Allecto.[3] Here Juno's hatred is at its height, and the instrument of her fury is the worst imaginable.

The black fiendish mood of Juno is expressed in the nature and activity of Allecto, 'who delights in bitter wars, anger, deceitful plots, and destructive slander' (325f). In order to stir this evil spirit into action Juno flies down to the earth. Allecto, daughter of Pluto and Night, lives, as we have seen,[4] down below in the earth from where she can rise to the surface through a terrible chasm in a weird and terrifying place. She is an expression of these deepest parts of the earth. Allecto's nature is that of a fury or a Greek Erinys (447). What her whole being loves is precisely what Juno in this phase of her angry passion wants: 'Break up the peace which has been concluded and sow quarrels leading to war. Arms it is that the manhood of the country shall want, demand, and at the same time seize' (339f). The multiple terror of this ugly creature of the Underworld expresses all the evil that is alive in Juno at this climax of her passion.

Allecto's destructive work is directed at Amata, Queen of Latium, at Turnus, and at the Latin country-folk.

Queen Amata is introduced as one 'who tried with strange love to bring it about speedily that Turnus should become her son-in-law.' But the will of the gods was against such a marriage (7.56ff). The basic elements of the situation are plain: the woman's passionate affection for Turnus and her desire to see her daughter married to him in spite of her knowledge of divine opposition.

When Allecto seeks out the queen, she finds her 'boiling with feminine cares[5] and rage on account of the coming of the Trojans and the marriage of Turnus' (344f). Amata is already seething with passion, but not yet to the point of action. It is Allecto who raises her passion to the pitch of action, and the image for this is the snake which Allecto takes from her head, throws at Amata and buries deep in her heart so that she may become 'mad with passion' (*furibunda* 348) and throw her whole house into turmoil. The fact that the snake is hidden deep in the heart of the queen shows from the very beginning that it must not be conceived as an actual physical beast: it is an image of the spirit of Allecto entering into her.[6] The process of the snake penetrating into the heart of the queen and 'possessing' her is first mentioned as a whole and then described in detail, in the 'appositional' manner.[7] This is done in two phases.[8]

The snake (349ff) envelops Amata's body: it slips down between her dress and her breasts, and she does not feel its touch; it breathes its snake-breath into her, and she in her mad passion does not notice it. The mighty snake becomes a gold necklace round her neck, becomes the band of a long fillet, ties her hair, and wanders smoothly over her limbs. This extraordinary picture of evil passion seizing on a person is vividly sensuous to the imagination while at the same time the actuality of perception on the part of the queen is denied: she does not perceive the touch or the breath of the snake; the snake moving about on her body is to her her necklace and other things. But she does experience an increasing intensity of passion and acts under its sway unaware of its cause.

While the snake's effect on the queen is as yet superficial, she weeps and speaks rather gently and as a mother would. She tries to persuade Latinus to give Lavinia in marriage to Turnus, arguing in the end with consummate sophistry that Turnus is a foreign suitor so that Latinus may not be swayed by the oracle of Faunus who demands a foreign husband for Lavinia. This first phase of her action is a wilful cunning perversion of the truth.

When Latinus resists and the maddening serpent-evil penetrates to the very core of her being, the unhappy woman rages 'lawlessly' and 'maddened' through the vast city.[9] Her frenzied running is compared to a top spinning under the blows of boys playing with it in an empty room, surrounded by a crowd of ignorant staring youngsters. The characteristic moment caught here in Amata's state is the rapid aimless movement following impotently on the impact of evil passion. Such swift movement is characteristic of uncontrolled fury.[10]

Eventually (385ff) this movement finds an aim: pretending it is the will of Bacchus,[11] Amata flies off into the forest and hides her daughter in the wooded mountains in order to prevent Lavinia's marriage with Aeneas. This action and what follows Virgil calls 'a greater wrong and a greater fury of passion' (*nefas . . . furorem* 386). For the consequences of her action reach far beyond herself. While her words had not been able to sway Latinus, her action foils his intention: marriage is impossible as long as Lavinia is not at hand. Further, the Latin women join in the orgies, which causes their husbands to seek war (580ff). The passage ends with the lines (404f): 'Such was the queen whom Allecto in the woods, in the desert places of wild beasts beset on all sides with the goads of Bacchus.' Amata's madness is no true Bacchic ecstacy. It takes the form of Bacchic orgies but is caused by Allecto. These orgies are the 'goads of Bacchus' which Allecto uses.[12] Allecto's aim is clearly indicated (406f): she has sharpened the passions and confounded the plan of Latinus and his whole house.

Amata's mind and will here are evil and disobedient to the command of the gods through omens and prophecy before ever

Allecto affects her: her own nature lays her open to Allecto's attack.[13]

From Amata the Fury turns to Turnus. She flies to the city of 'bold' Turnus, Ardea, where at midnight he lies asleep. Allecto transforms herself into Calybe, the old priestess of Juno, and so appears to him in a dream.[14] She taunts him with the futility of his effort on behalf of the Latins: he will lose both the Latin sceptre and King Latinus' daughter to a stranger. She makes plain that Juno has sent her to tell him this. Then she tries to incite him to destroy the Trojans: 'A great power among the heavenly gods commands it' (*caelestum uis magna iubet* 432). Latinus shall feel the might of Turnus' arm.

Turnus resists the temptation and mocks the old priestess. He knows of the arrival of the Trojans and is not afraid, and he trusts—tragically—in the protection of Juno. He spurns the feeble care-ridden old age of the priestess, and tells her to leave the decision of peace or war to those whose business it is. He is completely confident and tragically unaware of the changes in his situation. In consequence, he sees no need for war and rejects Allecto.

Then Allecto bursts into a blaze of anger and reveals herself in her real terrible nature. Turnus suddenly trembles all over. His eyes stare. He hesitates, trying to speak. But she, goddess of death and of war, throws a torch at him and fixes a firebrand with smoky glare in his breast (455f). Here, Allecto throws a torch at the young warrior as earlier she threw a snake at Amata (347). Both the snake entering Amata and the torch entering Turnus are images of the evil spirit 'taking possession' of her victim.[15] The violence of her attack on Turnus is tremendous, and the change in him immediate and complete: he seeks for arms everywhere, is raging with love of the sword and the criminal insanity of war, and 'in addition'[16] full of anger. A cauldron of boiling water billowing forth steam images his turmoil of passion. He calls the Rutulians to battle against the Latins and the Trojans.[17]

What do we know about Turnus before he is possessed by Allecto? He stems from a line of powerful ancestors, more handsome than all the rest, and is a suitor of Lavinia, daughter of Latinus (7.55f). His suit is contrary to the divine omens and to the prophecy of Faunus. A conflict between the man's desires and the gods' or fate's ordinances is inherent in the situation. When Allecto approaches Turnus, he is called the 'bold Rutulian' (*audacis Rutuli* 409). It has been maintained that *audax*, together with *superbus, tumidus, uiolentus, perfidus,* is used in Latin literature to characterize 'the typical enemy of the state'.[18] This does not hold of *audax* in the *Aeneid.* It occurs twelve times, seven times of Turnus or the Rutulians, five times in other connections. A man who is ready to enter a contest in archery or spear-throwing or boxing is 'confident and bold in his strength' (*uiribus audax* 5.67). When the Trojan ships approach the bank of the Tiber where Euander and his people celebrate a festival in honour of Hercules, the people rise from the tables in fear of an invasion. But Euander's son, young Pallas, tells them not to break up the sacred action, seizes his spear, and flies to meet the newcomers. Pallas is called *audax* (8.110). With this word the poet praises the young man's courageous and timely action. On the other hand, when Turnus, after being possessed by Allecto, 'fills the Rutulians with a spirit of boldness' (*animis audacibus implet* 7.475), the temper of this boldness is more doubtful. When Turnus is called *audax* as Allecto approaches him, this is ambivalent. It may mean no more than the 'boldness' of a fine warrior. That he *is* a great warrior we know from the fact that many a man is moved to obey Turnus because of the brilliant deeds of his right hand (474). This is all we are told about Turnus before Allecto sets upon him. It indicates an ambiguous nature which would lay him open to Allecto's attack. But the fact that he changes into a rabid fighter and incites his people to war is Allecto's and, through Allecto, Juno's work. Turnus is possessed, he is not free and has not made any decision. On the contrary, his initial resistance speaks of a certain strength of character[19] which reappears, as we shall see, later.[20]

So far, Allecto has been concerned with the Latins and Rutulians, in each case instilling a leading person, that is Amata and Turnus, with her own evil spirit. Then she turns to the Trojans, and here her procedure is quite different (*arte noua* 477). Young Ascanius is hunting deer on the shore. Into his dogs Allecto 'hurled a sudden frenzy and touched their noses with the familiar scent' of a stag.[21] This stag, which was roaming about freely, was the pet of the daughter of Latinus' leading herdsman. The dogs set up this stag, and Ascanius wounds him with his arrow 'fired by love of excellent praise' (*eximiae laudis succensus amore* 496). A 'god' (498) guides his arrow to its goal. The stag seeks refuge with his young mistress, who calls for help from the farmers. They come with unexpected speed, because Allecto was hidden in the wood and presumably roused them. The girl's father calls the crowds, ready to charge with his axe. Now the time is ripe for Allecto to act openly. She gives the signal on the farmer's horn, and battle breaks out between the Latin peasants and the Trojans: two leading Latins, besides many others, are killed. 'The causes of war are at hand' (*stant belli causae* 553), as Allecto says to Juno.

The leading agent in this scene is Ascanius. Allecto does not approach or attack him.[22] He acts out of love of glory which is quite unexceptionable in a young man. His delight in the hunt and his desire for some heroic victory over a boar or a lion are portrayed in Book 4 (156ff). Horace[23] pleads that a noble boy should go hunting rather than practising his skill with hoop or dice. Ascanius is not directly influenced by Allecto. But by working on the animal instincts of his dogs in an opportune situation, she turns the very nobility of the young man into the cause of war: a much more subtle affair than if Virgil had depicted a direct approach of Allecto. When 'a god' guides Ascanius' arrow, it is left quite vague who this might be, whether Allecto or some other divinity. Further, when Allecto stirs the peasants to rush to the girl's aid, Virgil only says that 'the grim plague was hiding in the silent woods' (505), a strong understatement considering the effect of her hidden presence. While up to this point Allecto holds back, working only from the background, the actual signal for the fray is given by her herself: she instigates the first fighting which will be the cause of the war. Let us note that a divine agent gives this signal, not any human being. It could easily have been given by the girl's father who was the head herdsman and full of fury. But this is not Virgil's view of affairs.

When Allecto has accomplished her task of causing strife and the shedding of blood and returns to Juno to report on her success, she offers to undertake a further piece of work, namely, to draw the neighbouring cities into the war by rumours and inflame their hearts with love of mad war so that they will come from everywhere to help; she will scatter arms all over the land (549ff). This extension of the war by winning allies is what happens in Book 8, but very differently from the way it would have happened, if Allecto had been the instigator. Juno dismisses Allecto, because the Lord of the summit of Olympus would not want her to wander about with any further liberty on the ethereal (life-giving) breezes (558). Here again Jupiter's ultimate control of events is apparent. Even in her most fiendish mood Juno is aware that she can go so far and no further. The gaining of allies (8.1–17) is, as we shall see, told very briefly in the case of Turnus and his side, and their attempt to win Diomedes will turn out to be unsuccessful (11.226ff). But Aeneas' search for allies is instigated, not by Allecto who would have worked to his detriment, but by Tiberinus, the river god of the city he will build and the river god of Rome where he sends Aeneas for allies.[24]

After Allecto's dismissal, Juno herself puts the finishing touches to the war. The farmers bring their dead to Latinus in protest, Turnus makes inflammatory speeches, and the men whose wives Queen Amata has led out into Bacchic revels demand war.[25] At this point, Virgil states explicitly that the war which they all—except Latinus—want is 'against the omens, against the fates ordained by the gods' and that their desire is caused by a perversion of the divine will (*peruerso numine* 584).[26] Their counsel is blind and 'things proceed at the bidding of savage Juno' (592). Latinus, who refuses to be forced into this line of action, relinquishes the reins of government. Who will pick them up? The obvious person to us today would be Turnus. At the beginning of Book 8, he carries the 'sign of war', that is the flag hung over the Roman general's tent,[27] down from the citadel.

But Virgil describes with great solemnity the ancient custom, still followed in his own time, of the Roman consul opening the Gate of War when the Senate had voted on war. Latinus is asked to open this gate, but being himself a 'prince of peace'[28] he will not touch it and flees. At this critical moment, Juno glides down from the sky and pushes the iron Gate of War open (622). Not Latinus, not Turnus, not any other human, but the goddess Juno officially initiates the war,[29] as Allecto has instigated the skirmishes between the Latin farmers and the Trojans. Men do not themselves initiate the deeds they undertake: the beginnings lie in the hands of divine powers. How can we imagine this to fit into ordinary practical Roman life? Macrobius[30] relates how, when the gate of Janus, that is the 'Gate of War', was captured by the Sabine troops of Titus Tatius, the gate was closed, but then 'soon after opened on its own initiative'. If a story of this kind could be current, the explanation that a god or goddess opened it would be almost obvious.

Through Juno's opening of the Gate of War, the whole of Italy is roused and prepares for battle. The following 'catalogue' of the Italian forces is artfully modelled on and varied from the Homeric catalogue in *Iliad* 2. At the beginning and end of it, Virgil has placed the fighters most important in the subsequent actions: Mezentius and Lausus at the beginning, Turnus and Camilla at the end.[31] Both Mezentius and Turnus are characterized in their relation to the gods. Mezentius scorns the gods (*contemptor diuum* 648).[32] Turnus is characterized by his armour.[33] On his helmet is fixed an image of the Chimaera, a composite beast of Eastern origin which pours forth flames in battle, more savage as more blood is shed. It is a symbol of the lust for slaughter kindled in Turnus by Allecto. His shield is adorned by a golden image of Io, his ancestress, who, like himself, stems from Inachus of Argos. On the face of it, this picture represents pride of race and origin. But the moment of time in Io's story which is caught in this picture is her transformation into a cow: 'already she is covered with a bristling hide, already a cow.' The underlying story is that Jupiter loved her, but Juno anticipated his approach by turning her into a cow[34] and chased her by means of a gadfly all over the earth.[35] The moment of the story that is chosen is the transformation of the unhappy maiden into a beast through Juno. Even so, Turnus turns bestial through Juno's Allecto. Similes of wild beasts will henceforth characterize him more than any others. Turnus here is set in contrast to the Trojans, who at the beginning of the book are protected by Neptune against being transformed into beasts by Circe.

After Juno returns (286) the stage is then prepared for war, a war initiated by Juno and her helper Allecto. Juno rules supreme—but not quite. The constraining power of Jupiter and of Fate has appeared twice: in Juno's own realization that the Trojans will settle in Latium and that Aeneas will win Lavinia (313f) and in her preventing Allecto from influencing the search for allies by the warring parties (557f). Divine initiation of all major human action is plain. In Book 10, full-scale war will break out.

Inset: Book 8

The next pair of books, namely Books 8 and 9, are an 'inset' within the fourth phase, just as Books 2 and 3 are an 'inset' within the second phase of the epic The first 'inset' was, as we have seen,[36] preparatory to the situation at the very beginning of the *Aeneid*. The second 'inset' is preparatory to the full scale war of Book 10. There is, however, one striking feature of difference. While the first inset contains no more than a foreshadowing of the dissension between Juno and Jupiter, the second inset contains in Book 9 an intensification of strife between the two divinities. The two books deal with the events of Aeneas' absence from

Latium. Book 8, apart from the first 17 lines, is concerned with Aeneas; Book 9, apart from the episodes of Nisus and Euryalus and of Ascanius' first shot, with Turnus. In both books the decisive actions are initiated by the gods.

The subject of Book 8 is the search for and acquisition of allied forces in the widest sense of the word. War is declared from the Italian side by the 'sign of war' brought about by Turnus and by the sounding of the trumpets. The Italian leaders seek allies everywhere, particularly also sending messengers to Diomedes.

Aeneas himself receives a vision of the river god Tiberinus in a dream. Tiberinus is the divine spirit of the land of Latium (*deus ipse loci* 31) who with its life-giving waters[37] welcomes Aeneas and tells him that here a home is assured for him (39). The Tiber, destined to be Rome's river, takes him under his protection.[38] Tiberinus is on Jupiter's side[39] and is fully aware of Juno's opposition when he urges Aeneas to 'overcome her anger and threats by his prayers and vows' (60f). The truthfulness of the god's words will be vouchsafed by the omen of the white sow and thirty white piglets; and the god's practical advice in the situation is to seek an alliance with Euander, king of the Arcadians at Pallanteum (49ff). When Aeneas awakens, he responds to the vision with a prayer to the Nymphs of the land, who are the source of the rivers, and to 'father Tiber', asking for protection and promising honour. In this way the river god of his future homeland becomes his first ally,[40] and at the same time initiates and supports his journey to Euander.

The omen of the sow comes true at once. With the Tiber's help the journey upriver is made easily, for the god stills the water's current so that it is like a lake. Nature here supports Aeneas even to the extent of the miraculous. At Pallanteum, the alliance with Euander is concluded as the river god had proposed. Also Aeneas is given, as a promise of victory and an example of heroism, the story of Hercules killing the monster Cacus, before he himself enters on his own 'labours' in the Italian war, both Hercules and Aeneas being descendants of Jupiter who fight against evil rising up from the underworld.[41]

The next move in the action is instigated by Venus. 'Terrified not without reason' (370), she begs her husband Vulcan to make arms for Aeneas who 'at Jupiter's command' (381) is stationed in the land of the Rutulians and who is threatened by war. After a night of love, at break of day Vulcan sets to work to make the promised armour.

At the same time, Euander and Aeneas rise and meet. Euander immediately comes to the point of Aeneas' visit: his need for 'help in war' (*belli auxilium* 472). Aeneas has come 'at the bidding of fate' (477). All Etruria has risen in just anger against its cruel king Mezentius, who has fled for protection to Turnus. The Etruscan host, eager to attack Turnus and to force him to surrender Mezentius, is stalled by a soothsayer's declaration of fate that no Italian must lead this host: a foreigner shall be the leader. In consequence, the crown and sceptre of Etruria have been offered to Euander. But Euander feels too old for the task, and young Pallas, his son, is partly Italian, his mother being not Greek, but Sabine: 'But you are the right man in age and race, fate's chosen, the one the divine will calls for: go then, most valiant leader of Trojans and of Italians.' It is plain here that the greatest allied army to be gained by Aeneas will come under his leadership by specific divine decree.

But this is still not sufficient for Aeneas, who is appalled at the atrocities of the imminent war in which he is to lead.[42] Once again, a divine power intervenes. Venus gives a sign: lightning flash and thunder from a clear sky, tremors shaking the whole universe and the roar of an Etruscan trumpet through the ether. Weapons appear in the sky 'thunderously clashing' (529). This is for Aeneas the confirmation that he is divinely called to undertake this war: 'I am called by Heaven' (*ego poscor Olympo* 533). Venus had promised to send a sign when war began and to bring armour made by Vulcan to help her son (*auxilio* 536). The greatest helpers Aeneas will have are the gods, and particularly Venus, an alliance visible in the divine armour he will wear.[43]

Furthermore, the first trumpet call of war was sounded by Allecto on a rustic horn (7.513f). The trumpets were sounded in the city as Turnus carried the 'sign of war', the general's flag, down from the citadel (8.1f).[44] Aeneas gives no order to sound the trumpets of war at any time: they are sounded for him by divine will from the ether. Also, the sudden trembling of the universe at their sound shows how the whole of the cosmos vibrates in 'sympathy' with this tremendous event. Now Aeneas looks ahead to the imminent war both with deep regret at the inevitable carnage (*heu* 537ff), but in obedience to the divine call ready to take on this war of defence which will be a judgement on an enemy who has broken the treaty (*poscant acies et foedera rumpant* 540).[45] His mood is changed from sombre thoughts (522) to joyful action (544) through the 'sign' of his divine mother.

By the river of Caere (597) he meets his new Etruscan allies, and here he receives the gleaming armour made by Vulcan and brought to him by Venus (608ff).

The pictures on the shield represent, of course, scenes from the future history of Rome. But, as Wlosok shows,[46] they also foreshadow coming events in the *Aeneid* itself. At the centre of the first half of the series, the 'Aeneadae' enter war for the sake of their freedom against the Etruscan king Porsenna who besieged Rome and tried to force them to accept Tarquinius as their tyrant. Here, Book 9 is foreshadowed when Turnus, together with Mezentius, fugitive king of Etruria, besieges the Trojans in their camp. In the preceding scene the rape of the Sabine women is pictured and the solemn treaty concluded between the sons of Romulus and the Sabines. This points to the swearing of the treaty between Latinus and Aeneas described in Book 12 and to the final treaty prepared for by the conversation of Jupiter and Juno (12.822). The scene following the picture of the Etruscan war represents Mettus torn to pieces as a punishment for breaking his word: the Italians led by Turnus are breaking the settlement made between king Latinus and Aeneas immediately after the arrival of the Trojans and will break it again in Book 12. In the second part of the picture series, Augustus, standing on the prow of his ship at Actium with fire streaming from his temples and the Julian star above his head, foreshadows Aeneas sailing up to the shore on his return from Pallanteum with fire rising up from the crest of his helmet and pouring forth from the boss of his divine shield (10.270ff). These pictures, the 'gift' of Venus (8.729), are indicative of the near and the far future, an adumbration of the values which will be specifically 'Roman', and a promise of victory.[47]

At every stage, then, of Aeneas' preparations for war, his actions are initiated by divine beings. He himself, 'tossed to and fro in a swell of cares' (8.19), does no more than think with great speed and intensity about the whole situation, when Tiberinus appears to him. Tiberinus takes him to Euander, who entrusts to his leadership Pallas and the small Arcadian force. The soothsayer's prophecy reported by Euander sets him at the head of the mighty Etruscan army. The 'sign' of Venus calls Aeneas to the leadership in this divinely declared war. The armour brought by Venus will clothe him in divine protection and splendour.

Inset: Book 9

The second part of this inset is Book 9 which moves from another instigation of action by Juno to a counter-command by Jupiter, preparatory to the council of the gods at the beginning of Book 10.

At the beginning of Book 9, 'Saturnian Juno sent Iris from the sky to bold Turnus.' Iris tells him that Aeneas is away seeking allies and now is the time to seize the Trojan camp. Iris leaves, setting a rainbow into the clouds which authenticates her divine being as it did before the Trojan women (5.657f); and, as there, it effects obedience in the beholder. Turnus recognizes Iris and, full of wonder what divinity may be calling him to arms, is ready to follow such a mighty omen (21f). He washes his hands in the stream to purify himself and prays and makes vows. The attack of Turnus and his men on the Trojan camp is, then, initiated by Juno through Iris. Turnus, tragically, obeys the divine command; he hurls his spear into the air, which signifies 'the beginning of battle' (*principium pugnae* 53).

When he finds the camp gates closed against him, 'his anger flares up, pain burns in his hard bones' (66), as he tries to find a way in. Seeing the Trojan ships close by the camp, he prepares to set them on fire. Torches are flaring, and flames and ashes are carried to the stars. At this crucial moment, the poet turns to the Muses with the question of which god averted that dire conflagration from the Trojans. In reply the story switches back to the time when Aeneas built his fleet with timber from Mount Ida. The Mother of the gods, called 'Berecyntian' here and 'Phrygian' in Aeneas' prayer (7.139), has her sacred grove on Mount Ida, the mountain wooded with pine and maple trees above Troy, on to which Jupiter's star fell in 2.696 and where Aeneas made ready to leave in 3.6. The goddess at that time prayed to her son Jupiter, called *Idaeus* in the same prayer of Aeneas (7.139) to keep safe her beloved trees which she had given to Aeneas for his fleet. Her son, 'he who rotates the stars of the cosmos', promised in reply that he would turn the ships that had brought Aeneas to Italy into 'goddesses of the sea' (9.102). The day for the fulfilment of this promise has come, when Turnus attacks the ships. A sudden light bursts forth. A huge storm cloud seems to run from the east across the sky and along with it choirs of Corybantes, the hosts of the goddess, and then the awesome voice of the great Mother Cybele is heard promising safety to the Trojans and commanding the ships to go and become nymphs of the sea.[48]

The divinity who counters Turnus' attack is, then, the goddess of Mount Ida, Troy's mountain. Her concern for and power over these ships make it apparent that the Trojans travelling and living on these ships were still, as it were, on Trojan 'soil'. No Turnus is to destroy them. The Trojan mountain goddess herself, divinity of that mountain and those trees, removes the ships. Her withdrawal of the ships corresponds to Tiberinus' welcome to Aeneas in Book 8. The power to change the ships into nymphs has been granted to her by Jupiter himself, so that Turnus' attack caused by Juno through Iris is for the moment checked by Jupiter through Cybele, but not his bold and confident aggressiveness. Only nightfall prevents further action for the moment.

In the episode of Nisus and Euryalus, the poet mentions no god.[49] But the question of who initiates their action is raised. Nisus wonders 'whether the gods are putting this eager desire into his mind or whether each man's cruel desire becomes his god' (184f). Virgil here uses Homeric practice according to which a character may be uncertain 'whether an impulse comes from the realm of the gods or that of men.'[50] Later in the same speech, Nisus says to Euryalus: 'If some chance or some god were to carry me into danger, I should wish you to survive' (211f). The difference between 'chance' and a 'god' is here probably not as great as we, from our modern point of view, would assume. For, it is 'Fortuna', a goddess herself, who may bring about a chance event, her own person embodying the very arbitrariness indicated by 'chance'.[51] While the question of divine initiation is raised, it is not answered, because the episode of Nisus and Euryalus is outside the major lines of action of Turnus and the Latins on the one hand, and Aeneas and the Trojans on the other. The gods and Fate are not concerned with everything that happens. The function of the episode is 'preparatory' in the structure of the *Aeneid* and a monument to Virgil's concept of 'friendship'.[52]

After the night episode of Nisus and Euryalus, at a renewed trumpet call the Italians attack the Trojan camp, thus pursuing the action instigated by Juno at the beginning of the book. General fighting for the camp walls is followed by a fierce attack by Mezentius and Messapus and then, introduced by an invocation to the Muse Calliope, by extensive exploits of Turnus, in particular the spectacular destruction of one of the camp's towers. This is again rounded off by Mezentius who splits a Sicilian's forehead by a 'scorching bullet'[53] from his sling.

The next scene (590ff) describes Ascanius killing his first man. He had up to that time pursued wild beasts.[54] The man he kills is Numanus Regulus, a recently married brother-in-law of Turnus. With much noise and full of arrogance Numanus taunts the 'effeminate' Trojans, bragging with the hardy prowess of Italy. Unable to bear his boasting, Ascanius draws his bow with prayer and vows to 'almighty Jupiter' to be granted accomplishment 'for his bold undertaking' (625). Jupiter thunders on the left from a clear sky. Ascanius kills the boaster and says: 'Go, mock manly prowess *(uirtutem)* with arrogant words! The Phrygians, twice captured, send this reply to the Rutulians.'[55] Apollo sitting on a cloud applauds the new-found *uirtus* of Ascanius, 'son of gods and future father of gods', for this is how men reach the stars, that is, become immortal. Assuming the form of an elderly companion and guardian of Ascanius, Apollo goes to meet him and warns him off further fighting. But the Trojans, whose spirits have been raised to the stars (637) by his deed, now fight with renewed vigour (662ff).

A great deal is concentrated in this passage. Ascanius Julus, offspring of Aeneas, Venus, and Anchises, and ultimately Jupiter, and future originator of the Julian line culminating in Augustus, here enters the life of an adult hero. Every feature of the situation is significant. Ascanius shoots at this man at his own initiative but under provocation from arrogant boasting so that his desire to shoot Numanus is not frivolous but justified over and beyond mere warriordom. As he undertakes to kill this man, he prays to Jupiter almighty, as Anchises did in burning Troy (2.687ff) and Aeneas when his ships were on fire (5.687ff), and each time Jupiter replies with an omen: Ascanius enters into immediate relationship with the supreme god as a member of his royal line. Killing this arrogant enemy constitutes his 'manly prowess, his *uirtus*, as he claims himself and as Apollo confirms' (9.634, 641).[56] This deed is, then, freely initiated by Ascanius himself, but also has the assent of Jupiter as it is being done, and is approved of by Apollo. Here the gods Jupiter and Apollo do not instigate the action, but they give it their blessing.

In consequence of the morale of the Trojans being raised high by the deed of Ascanius, Pandarus and Bitias open the gates entrusted to them. It is, of course, against the express command of Aeneas (42f). This is why they are called 'arrogant' (*superbos* 695) when Turnus attacks them. Turnus, after others, slays Bitias who falls a mighty fall, At this point, the Latins are 'possessed' by the war god Mars (721).[57] Pandarus, recognizing the danger of the situation, closes the gates, enclosing without being aware of it Turnus within the camp walls. Turnus in terrifying warrior power (731ff), receives calmly the attack of Pandarus, whose spear Juno diverts into a gate post. Then he splits him in two, and the Trojans flee.

'And if only the conquering Turnus had had the presence of mind
To break open the bars of the gate and let his own comrades in,
That day would have been the end of the war and the Trojan nation.
But he was fighting-mad; the blood lust drove him on
Against his adversaries.' (757ff)

Turnus misses his chance to win the war. The reason is the lack of considered careful thought *(cura),* so characteristic of Aeneas, and 'passion' *(furor)* and 'mad desire for slaughter' (*caedisque insana cupido* 760). This description of his state of mind is very close to 'the love of the sword and criminal madness of war' which fills him when he has fallen into the possession of Allecto (7.461). Also, in the ensuing series of killings, Juno supplies him with strength and courage' (9.764). Turnus acts then under the power and influence of Juno. Neither he nor the goddess can in their fury see their advantage. At last, the Trojans rally. Turnus gradually gives way in the direction of the river (789f). Twice he had chased the Trojans through their own camp, but now they are massing together against him and—

'Saturnian Juno dared not lend him the strength to oppose them,
Not now, for Jupiter sent Iris flying down
From on high with a very brusque command to his sister and consort—
There will be trouble if Turnus leaves not the Trojan's encampment.' (803ff)

Juno has to withdraw her support at the command from Jupiter conveyed by Iris. Here, for the first time, Jupiter goes beyond opposing Juno by an action running counter to her action. Through Iris he directly forbids her to continue her line of action; in Book 10 he will do so in person.

Books 10, 11, and 12 (133, 215)

Juno's instigation of war in Book 7 through Allecto and in Book 9 through Iris finally leads to the confrontation of Venus and herself with Jupiter in the divine assembly of Book 10. Here, the divine persons and forces at work in the actions of humans and more generally in the movements of the cosmos come into view directly and 'face to face', as it were. Through them the basic political ideas are made explicit which shape the action of the second half of the epic.

The scene is set at the summit of the cosmos, in the starry seat of Jupiter, high above all lands, the Trojan camp, and the Latin people, very far above the darkness down below which is the home of Allecto. Two brief majestic utterances of Jupiter frame two extensive speeches of Venus and Juno. Jupiter begins by asking the great dwellers of heaven why they have turned to hostility, why there is strife *(discordia)* against his command. For he had forbidden Italy to enter war with the Trojans.

This statement has caused much criticism, because Jupiter nowhere explicitly forbids a war and, in fact, predicts this war in his prophetic speech to Venus in Book 1. 263f. But while these words are not free of inconsistency with Book 1, they are intelligible. The same inconsistency is implicit in the three omens at the beginning of Book 7: the omens of the swarm of bees on the laurel tree (7.59ff) and the prophecy of Faunus (7.96ff) demand a foreign husband for Lavinia, and obedience to them would have prevented war; the fire bursting out around Lavinia points to war (7.71ff) which, in fact, takes place, 'a war against the omens, against the fates of the gods' (*contra omina bellum, contra fata deum* 7.583f). Jupiter as the ruler of unruly gods, spirits, and men refers to these omens when he says that he forbade the war.[58] When he prophesies the war in Book 1, he is the Cosmic God who knows the future within a monotheistic conception of the world. In Book 10 he speaks as the highest god set over a hierachy of divinities and spirits within a polytheistic conception. We have seen that this combination of monotheism and polytheism, widely believed in the first century B.C., has its difficulties.[59] The inconsistency in the *Aeneid* in this respect is not of Virgil's making.

The war is called *discordia* which suggests 'civil war', a war between people that are fated to be *one* nation. In Book 12.503f Virgil asks Jupiter with some bitterness whether he ordained that people who were to live in eternal peace together should clash in so great a conflict.[60] Contrasted with such 'civil war' is the war of Rome against the aggressor Carthage: 'the just time for battle' will come (10.11). Then 'to fight with hatred' and 'to ravage' will be permitted. But now a 'treaty' should be concluded (15). Here Virgil projects Roman political thought of the first century B.C.

back into the earliest mythical history of Rome, just as Livy and Cicero do.

The causes for this civil war are displayed in the speeches of Venus and Juno, each of them trying to justify herself. They will later on be displayed further on the human side in the Latin Grand Council. Venus addresses Jupiter, pointing out to him with reproachful exasperation the desperate plight of the Trojans, besieged and even invaded by Turnus, in Aeneas' absence. She enumerates to him all the hostilities of Juno against Aeneas, without however mentioning her name. She is, in the end, so resigned that even the thought of empire no longer moves her (42). She is, moreover, ready to leave Aeneas to his fate, if only she can keep Ascanius in safety so that he may live in peace, if without glory (52), in one of the places sacred to her. Let Carthage conquer Italy: her cities will not fight Carthage. All the Trojans' labours have been in vain. They would have done better to settle on the ashes of burnt-out Troy. In conclusion, Venus asks Jupiter to let the Trojans return to Troy, even if to suffer Troy's fate over again.

In view of Jupiter's prophecy in Book 1, Venus' exasperation at the Trojans' plight in the besieged camp and at Juno's various attacks is fully justified. But her resignation, which is less real than intended to provoke, appears as a betrayal of all she knows to be the will of Jupiter and the ordinance of fate, a worse betrayal than when she connived with Juno at the 'marriage' of Aeneas and Dido. When she seems to give up all hope of empire, but is ready for Carthage to rule Italy and wants the Trojans to return to Troy, she appears to despair of Aeneas' mission to lay the foundation for Rome and to be, in fact, at the same point where Aeneas was in the Storm in Book 1. She has fallen even lower than when she sent Cupid to Dido and agreed to her marriage to Aeneas to the extent that she means what she says. When she wants Ascanius to live in safety without glory, it is nothing less, but also no more than her motherly affection that determines her. Fear has made her forget that he is destined to rule as a king for thirty years and to found the city of Alba Longa (1.267ff). She also does not or will not realize that he has already been initiated into warfare with Jupiter's and Apollo's approval and so has entered on the career of a great hero with all its accompanying dangers and its glory. Although Venus turns to Jupiter, her wishes are utterly opposed to his will, unless, as Kühn suggests,[61] she goes to such extremes also in order to provoke Jupiter into helping her. Even so, Venus is the 'mother' *(genetrix)* whose love makes her more concerned with the lives and happiness of her own offspring than with the tasks and the fame that fate has ordained for them.[62]

Juno in reply addresses not Jupiter, but Venus directly, in a towering rage hurling point after point that she has made back into her face, twisting every argument with fiendish duplicity for the purpose of defending herself and Turnus, finally accusing Venus of having caused the Trojan War at the very beginning by 'lust' *(cupido).* Venus had, of course, in alliance with Juno, caused Aeneas' failure and Dido's death at Carthage through *Cupido.* Juno knows well the evil side of Venus, the very side of her which she herself has exploited.

The murmuring of the gods who are divided in their adherence is compared in a simile with a rising breeze, harbinger of storm to the sailors. Here, incipient strife is compared with a storm coming up, as in Book 1 a storm was compared with rebellion in a people. Once again nature and, in this case, divine emotions are closely linked. This becomes explicit when the 'almighty Father' begins to speak. The gods in the lofty house fall silent, the earth trembles, the ether on high is silent, the breezes abate, the sea smoothes out its waves: the whole universe listens and the threatening storm is calmed. Jupiter is manifest as the 'supreme power of the universe (*rerum prima potestas* 100).

Jupiter accepts the situation as it has become apparent through the speeches of the two goddesses: the Italians and Trojans cannot yet join together in a treaty nor the strife *(discordia)* of the goddesses come to an end. Neither the human parties nor the goddesses are ready to work together towards the foundation of Rome. Then, Jupiter changes by his royal decree the whole relationship between gods, fate, and men which has obtained hitherto. He himself will be impartial (*nullo discrimine habebo* 108) in relation to the Rutulians and the Trojans. He has not been so. Their own undertakings will bring them their labours and their fortune. This is ordained by Jupiter, king universal, which implies that Venus and Juno are forbidden to initiate actions of Aeneas or Turnus. Finally, Fate will find a way to its own fulfilment. After this, the outcome is up to the initiative of Turnus and Aeneas. Free will is granted to them by Jupiter in such a way that their free decisions enter into the very fibre of destiny, become, as Cicero following Chrysippus would say, *confatalia,*[63] such as without which fate would not be fulfilled. The certainty of this decree is sealed by Jupiter's nod.[64]

If Jupiter had not decreed free will for Aeneas and Turnus at this point, both could well be described as puppets moved by strings from the divine world. This decree sets the scene for both men to prove their worth or lack of worth. What is decisive for the relation of the two heroes to Jupiter will be their attitude to the treaty (*foedus* 10.15) which Jupiter has so far in vain requested from the two goddesses. Since they have refused to come to terms, Jupiter now hands over this vital issue to the two leading men.

From this point on in the action, the gods are no longer the prime agents initiating all major events, but they become largely spectators. That this is so is the result of Jupiter's decree, so that in this sense his will dominates all that follows until the end of this phase in Book 12.

The activity of the gods is then one of looking on and, occasionally, giving some help. The Nymphs, previously the ships of Aeneas, bring news of the camp to him (10.219ff). During Aeneas' battle for a foothold on Italian soil, Venus deflects the spears that would have grazed her son's body when he is attacked by seven brothers simultaneously (331f). When Pallas is on the point of hurling his spear at Turnus, he prays for help to Hercules, guest-friend of his father (461). Hercules weeps in his impotence, and his father Jupiter consoles him. Pallas receives no protection.

After Jupiter's prohibition in the divine assembly, Juno does not take the initiative. She has understood her royal husband, and her attitude is completely changed. When in the battle for the landing, 'on the very threshold of Italy' (355f), and for the release of the Trojan camp the break-through comes with Aeneas' bitter and ruthless fighting, Jupiter himself breaks the silence (*ultro* 606) and speaks to Juno. On the face of it, he addresses her graciously as his beloved sister and wife and seems to agree with what she had hinted in the assembly, that Venus' help was the real strength of the Trojans (81ff). But his words are bitterly ironical,[65] because Aeneas, enraged by the news of Pallas' death, has only just turned the battle into a victorious advance of the Trojans with the fury of a 'mountain torrent or a black hurricane' (603), while Venus was nowhere present. Juno accepts both irony and provocation (*sollicitas* 612)[66] with humility, and expresses her fear of his stern commands. She diffidently appeals to the power of her love (how very different from Hera enticing Zeus to sleep through Aphrodite's and her own charm!) so that he might allow her to remove Turnus from the battle and preserve him safe for his father Daunus. She tries to move Jupiter by an appeal to *pietas*, the love of father and son, the very same relationship that Turnus had cruelly mocked in his words to Pallas (443), and she pleads by addressing him as 'all-powerful' (615). Then she seems to let go of Turnus; 'Let him perish now and pay his due to the Trojans with his loyal blood' (*pio sanguine* 617). But this apparent resignation and her irony are only another form of pleading. When she speaks of his descent from Italian divine ancestry and his sacrifices to Jupiter she again argues his case explicitly. Jupiter, pointedly called 'king of ethereal Olympus' grants delay of Turnus' death, no more. Juno still hopes for more, but certainly goes to remove him from Aeneas' proximity.

Here, Jupiter and Juno meet for the first time alone and converse, Jupiter taking the lead. The result is an intervention by Juno in human affairs, but with full agreement of Jupiter. Juno does here 'initiate' new action on the part of Turnus, but with Jupiter's consent and not directly: Turnus would not have been willing to flee, as the lines following show. Instead, she uses his eagerness in pursuing Aeneas to turn his apparent pursuit into actual flight by deluding him into pursuing a phantom of Aeneas.

Next, Mezentius enters into battle against the Trojans, 'at the instigation of Jupiter' (*at Iouis interea monitis* 689). Let us note that this divine instigation does not directly concern either the Trojans or the Rutulians, in relation to whom Jupiter remains impartial. It decides nothing.[67] On the other hand, it brings about a situation which offers to Aeneas a supreme opportunity for proving his valour. After an intensive build-up of the figure of Mezentius, particularly by three similes, the battle is once again even (755ff). At this point, before Aeneas' decisive victory over Mezentius and Lausus, the gods are described in their rôle as spectators (758ff): 'The gods in the house of Jupiter see with pity the vain anger of both parties and the great toil of mortal men. On one side Venus, on the opposite side Juno looks on. Pale Tisiphone rages in the midst of thousands.'[68] The whole cosmos in all its spheres is presented here: Jupiter's house, the seat of his power at the top, the gods sitting in it kept back by his will,[69] particularly Venus and Juno on opposite sides; below this the field of battle of the warring parties, dominated by the Fury Tisiphone, who has risen up from the Underworld where she guards the entrance to Tartarus and to the punishments of the wicked.

In the subsequent combat between Aeneas and Mezentius, Mezentius calls his right hand his god (773) while Aeneas prays for success to Jupiter and Apollo (875). But the gods do not interfere, and Aeneas kills Mezentius.

In Book 11, Juno and Venus do not intervene. Jupiter intervenes twice. He incites Tarchon, leader of the Etruscans, to enter battle against Camilla and her Amazons (727f), which leads to a second victory of the Trojan side. Turnus, in the meantime, lies in ambush against the unsuspecting Aeneas who is marching towards Latinus' city. At the news of Camilla's death and the subsequent rout, Turnus leaves the ambush. This is also demanded by the 'fierce divine will of Jupiter' (*et saeua Iouis sic numina poscunt* 901). Jupiter would not suffer Aeneas to be harmed by guile. By this interference, Jupiter obviously does not prevent Turnus from freely undertaking such an ambush, though he prevents its consequences in order to protect Aeneas, just as Venus protected him in battle in 10.331f. Also the beginning of Jupiter's wrath against Turnus is here visible.[70] It is plain that Jupiter is in command, but does not interfere with the free undertakings of Turnus or Aeneas. After this until the end of the fourth phase in 12.133 no divine being enters into the human action.

In consequence, then, of Jupiter's decree at the conclusion of the divine scene in Book 10, the initiative in action has passed from the gods to the Trojans and Rutulians, and in particular to Aeneas and Turnus, up to the end of the fourth phase of the epic. It is essential at this point to form a clear picture of what Turnus and Aeneas choose to do and say, and how their actions and words are intended to be evaluated. This evaluation is, unfortunately, highly controversial. But a definite answer must be established, if the relationship between the will of Jupiter and events on earth is to become transparent. The crucial passages are: the single combat between Turnus and Pallas, the fight of Aeneas with Mezentius and Lausus, the terrible rage and slaughter of Aeneas after the news of Pallas' death and the attitudes and actions of Aeneas and Turnus towards a treaty and peace.

It is well known that the two fights of Turnus with Pallas and of Aeneas with Mezentius and Lausus are constructed in such a way as to invite comparison. But there is no agreement on the result of such a comparison.[71] Let us then compare the two sequences of actions and speeches in detail, with the aim of establishing the poet's moral evaluation and the relationship to Jupiter intended by him.

It is hinted that Fate demands the death of Pallas at the hands of a greater enemy than Lausus, and Juturna suggests to Turnus that he take the place of Lausus (439). This 'minor' intervention makes it clear that Turnus' fighting with Pallas is in itself not an 'undertaking' which will determine what will happen to him. It is the specific nature of this fight which will be fatal: Turnus demands single combat with Pallas, a challenge which Pallas is bound to accept. The Rutulians withdraw; the Arcadians look on in horror. This means that neither combatant can withdraw into the ranks of his own friends, if in danger, or call on their help, both being frequent actions in the *Iliad.* Aeneas, on the other hand. attacks Mezentius in open battle. Therefore, when Mezentius is wounded by Aeneas, he can be protected first by Lausus and then by his friends (799); he is not immediately at the mercy of his opponent. Also, Aeneas is on the defensive, being 'snowed under with missiles from every angle' (808) when Lausus makes to attack him, and cannot afford to hold back long.

Turnus singles out an inferior fighter, however good a fighter Pallas is, as his aristeia shows (362ff). Pallas 'was first to move, hoping that luck would side with one who dared to take on a powerfuller man' (*ausum uiribus imparibus* 459). His companions carry his body off lamenting: 'Today had been his baptism in war, today his end' (508).[72] Euander, receiving his dead son's body, says, after mentioning the trophies won by Pallas: 'You, too, Turnus, would be here—a trophy, a giant tree-trunk Adorned with arms—had your age and the strength of your years been no more than My son's' (11.173ff). Pallas is younger than Turnus and inexperienced in battle.

Finally, the simile (10.454ff) in which Turnus making for Pallas is compared to a lion running to attack a bull does not represent the two warriors as equals. In the *Iliad,* lion and bull are represented as at war three times. Sarpedon is killed by Patroclus, as a bull by a lion (16.487ff). Automedon is gory, like a lion that has eaten a bull (17.542). On the shield of Achilles, two lions are pictured dragging off a bellowing bull (18.580). A lion's victory over a bull is a traditional motif, so that the Virgilian simile here points to the inferiority of Pallas as a fighter and to his death.

Aeneas, on the other hand, chooses to meet with a very great fighter, Mezentius. His fighting power is demonstrated in an aristeia (689ff) which is heightened by three similies. Mezentius is compared to a cliff enduring the fury of wind and sea, to a boar at bay whom no one dares attack close-up, and to a lion feasting on a goat or a stag. While the boar simile (in the middle) sounds a note of danger for Mezentius, the last simile pictures his utter ferocity. Again, when the gods have been represented as watching the oncoming fight from on high and just before Aeneas' approach, Mezentius is compared in a fourth simile to Orion who stands on the bottom of the sea and reaches up into the clouds (763ff). Mezentius is a gigantic warrior.[73] Later, when Mezentius returns to the fight in spite of his wound, he does so on horseback, and once again the fight is weighted against Aeneas, 'finding himself hard-pressed in such an unequal combat' (889). But while Aeneas has chosen to attack Mezentius, he has not chosen to fight with Lausus. Lausus intervenes of his own free will to save his father, and he can do so because this is not a single combat. Further, he does not withdraw when Aeneas warns him that he is rushing into his death, 'daring what is beyond his strength' (811). But Lausus persists in his mad fervour and Aeneas kills him. Turnus has chosen to fight a young man alone; Aeneas has chosen to fight a gigantic warrior in open battle and finds himself forced to kill a young man. It is plain that the invention and arrangement of events is guided by the intention of displaying the respective valour of the fighters involved, especially of Turnus and Aeneas.

Next—and this has often been pointed out—both Turnus and Aeneas show their attitude to *pietas* as the love between father and son. Turnus mocks it when he wishes Euander could be present to witness his son's death (443) and when, after slaying Pallas, he says to his companions: '. . . tell your king I send him back his Pallas, a dead man; Euander deserved it' (491f). His generosity (494) in returning the body for burial sounds empty after those words. When he mocks Euander with the price he has paid for the guest-friendship with Aeneas, he does not know that this guest-friendship will cost him his own life. Aeneas, on the other hand, is deeply moved by the death of Lausus and the young man's love for his father. However savagely Aeneas fights with Mezentius in the end, he fully respects his son's love for him.[74] Aeneas not only returns the body of Lausus to his father, but he lifts it from the ground himself, leaves him all his armour 'in acknowledgement of his valour', and gives him the greatest gift he can give him in saying that he has fallen at the hand of great Aeneas (830). This means that the fame of Lausus will spread as far as the name of Aeneas is and will be known. Turnus, on the other hand,

> 'pressed his left foot hard on the back of
> The corpse, and tore off the sword-belt, a thing of immense weight,
> Engraved with a legendary crime—that family of brothers foully

> Murdered upon their wedding-night, the bed-chambers swimming in blood;
> Eurytus' son, Clonus, had worked it in rich gold chasing.
> This belt was now taken by Turnus for spoils, and delighted his heart.
> Ah, mind of man, so ignorant of fate, of what shall befall him,
> So weak to preserve moderation when riding the crest of good fortune!' (495ff502)

What Turnus takes from Pallas is a piece of treasure, ominous through its picture of an atrocious crime, but heavy with gold, and 'he delights in its possession' (500). This is an action of covetousness, as Quinn suggests.[75] Through it he will lose his life, as Camilla does by pursuing a particularly glamorous fighter, 'recklessly ranging amid The battle, on fire with a woman's desire for another's finery' (11.782).[76] While Aeneas as lover of Dido dressed luxuriously like an Eastern prince (4.261ff), he has since entered 'the house of modest Euander' (8.359ff) where Hercules stayed, and he has slept on a bed of leaves with a bear's skin for cover which Euander offered him with these words:

> 'Have the courage, my guest, to despise possessions: train yourself,
> As he (*scil.* Hercules), to be worthy of godhead: don't be intolerant of poverty.' (8.364f)

As we hear in Livy's introduction to his history, the fatal vices of greed and luxury *(auaritia luxuriaque)* came to Rome late, and for a long time poverty and thrift were held in great honour. Even so Euander, in describing to Aeneas the early history of Latium, marks out the 'madness of war' and 'the love of having' (*belli rabies et amor successit habendi* 8.327) as the characteristics of the inferior age following on the Golden Age.[77] It is, then, covetousness primarily which is expressed in Turnus' act of taking Pallas' belt.

In the two parallel combats between Turnus and Pallas and between Aeneas and Mezentius and Lausus, Turnus and Aeneas are free, by Jupiter's decree, to make their own choices in action. What they choose to do expresses their personal qualities on three counts: heroic valour, regard for *pietas* between father and son, and covetousness or the restraint of it. There can be no doubt who is the greater human being. The image left in the mind of the two fights which expresses this is of Turnus with his foot on the body of Pallas and of Aeneas with the body of Lausus in his arms. We also know that, by Jupiter's decree, the two men in the process of revealing their characters determine the final issue of their lives.

The second difficult passage in Book 10 is the description of the ruthless killings of Aeneas after he has heard the news of Pallas' death (10.510ff). Here, the opinions of scholars move to extremes. To some Aeneas lapses into the bloodlust otherwise characteristic of Turnus, to others he fights with the white heat of righteous indignation.[78] It is therefore necessary to explore in some detail the reasons for Aeneas' fury.

The picture that arises before his eyes at the news of Pallas' death is of Pallas and Euander, of the first table to which they invited him, and of the right hand clasped. This vision, which incites him to the tremendous outburst of warlike rage, presents the relationship in which Aeneas stands to Euander and Pallas.

The river god Tiberinus appearing to Aeneas in a dream vision had told him to seek out the Arcadians and their king Euander, to make an alliance with them and conclude a treaty (8.56). The key words here are 'allies' *(socios)* and 'treaty' *(foedus)*, both words of public import, in fact, of political life. The conclusion of a treaty is also what Jupiter wants. Accordingly, when Pallas comes to meet the Trojans, Aeneas gives him this message for Euander:

'We are sons of Troy that you see here, and no friends to the Latins
Who have driven us out of their land by a cynical act of aggression *(bello . . . superbo)*.
We're looking for king Euander. Tell him a deputation
Of Trojan leaders has come to plead for his alliance (*duces socia arma rogantes*) (8.117ff).

Pallas invites Aeneas to the hospitality of his father's house (*nostris succede penatibus hospes* 123) and clasps his right hand. Here, another element of this relationship is apparent, namely that of guest-friendship, confirmed by a clasping of right hands.

More than this, Aeneas in addressing Euander shows that the Trojan ancestor Dardanus and Euander himself ultimately descended from Atlas so that between Aeneas and Euander there is a bond of kinship. Trusting in this, Aeneas has not sent ambassadors, but has come himself as a suppliant (145). Aeneas finally proposes that Euander should receive and give trust (*accipe daque fidem* 150). This is a quotation from Ennius and implies the conclusion of a treaty; the Ennian line goes on with 'conclude a very strong treaty' *(foedusque feri bene firmum)*.[79] Euander, who remembers meeting and admiring Aeneas' father Anchises with pleasure, says that the clasp of his right hand in token of a covenant is theirs as they asked (169). He promises auxiliary troops, and since they have come as 'friends' he asks them forthwith to 'get used to the table of their allies' (174). Here, the relationship between the Trojans and the Arcadians and their respective leaders is made fully explicit. It is a bond of guest-friendship[80] and an alliance for military purposes[81] based on a treaty which is concluded by a clasp of the right hand.[82] The relationship between Aeneas, on the one hand, and Euander and Pallas, on the other, is therefore anything but private or personal,[83] in the first instance; it is public and political and in accord with Jupiter's will. When later on a relationship of personal affection grows up between Aeneas and Pallas as on their journey back from Etruria (10.160ff), this is an additional feature of the relationship, but not its original basis. It is here that Virgil's reshaping of his Homeric model is particularly evident. Achilles' grief and consequent battle fury arises out of his great love for Patroclus, which is of long standing. Aeneas' affection for Pallas is recent and only developing.[84] Aeneas' bond with Pallas and Euander is a bond of love; but the strength of this bond lies even more in the obligations laid upon Aeneas by a political alliance, by guest-friendship, and by kinship. The quality in Aeneas' character through which he upholds and strives to fulfil the moral obligations of this bond is his *fides*. In view of Pallas' body laid out to be taken to his father, Aeneas says: 'So much for that trust placed in me!' (*haec mea magna fides* 11.55), questioning ironically the efficacy of his own loyalty. Cicero calls *fides* the basis of justice (*fundamentum iustitiae*),[85] and Aeneas is praised by Ilioneus as the most just of all men (1.544).[86]

When, therefore, Aeneas, after the news of Pallas' death, rages over the battlefield killing ruthlessly and without mercy even the suppliant, the tremendous fury of this anger is justified by the situation, being firmly grounded on moral obligations of a complex nature. Furthermore, Aeneas' fighting is approved and even admired by Jupiter. Speaking to Juno ironically about the support of Venus to the Trojans which, in fact, she did not give (apart from protecting Aeneas from spears)[87] he indirectly praises Aeneas' 'right hand strong in war and his spirit fierce and tough in danger' (10.610). It would be strange if we were to judge an action contemptible which Jupiter judges worthy of praise.[88]

The characterization of Turnus and Aeneas is taken further in Books 11 and 12 up to the end of phase four, their choices remaining free under Jupiter's decree. Aeneas, god-fearing, dedicates the armour of Mezentius to Mars; loyal to his friends, though aware that he has failed in not protecting Pallas (55), he prepares the young man's body to be taken home. But he himself cuts short his grief, because 'the same terrible destiny of war' that killed Pallas calls him away.[89] Aeneas' desire for peace is evident in his offer to fight Turnus in a duel and make peace with the Latins. When his offer is at last accepted he rejoices that the war is going to be brought to an end by treaty. The peace terms which he offers to the Latins show his complete freedom from any lust for power. Even at his first contact with King Latinus through his ambassadors Aeneas had indicated his intention that Latinus should inherit the kingship of ancient Troy by sending him the sceptre, tiara, and robes of Priam (7.246ff).[90] What he most wants for himself is the city which he must found and the hand of Lavinia, both being demanded for him by fate:

'I shall not make the Italians a subject race to the Trojans,
Nor do I seek this realm for my own: let both our peoples,
Unconquered, as equal partners be joined in a league for ever.
The gods and the hallows I'll give; Latinus shall keep, as my father,
His arms and his rightful authority. The Trojans shall build for me
My city walls, and Lavinia shall give her name to the city.'
(12.189ff)

The characterization of Turnus is more complex. When through Juno's deceit he finds himself sailing away from the field of battle, his sense of shame in forsaking his own men in disaster is so great that he tries to swim back or take his own life three times, but is prevented by Juno (10.668ff). It is this same sense of responsibility and honour that Drances appeals to in his speech in the Grand Council (11.364ff).

But Drances also insinuates that Turnus is driven not only by the—truly heroic—desire for fame, but also by desire for the royal palace which will be Lavinia's dowry. This accusation coming from the lips of a personal enemy in a public assembly might not be true, but it is proved true when Latinus in the intimacy of his own family, with only Amata and Lavinia present, says to Turnus:

'You own the realm of your father, Daunus, and many cities
You've captured in war, while I have gold, and am not close-fisted.' (12.22f)

The unavowed implication here is that Turnus desires power, as Drances suggested, and gold, which caused him to seize Pallas' belt.

Another feature of Turnus' nature is brought out by his choice of action in laying an ambush against Aeneas. The words used by Virgil to describe it indicate his judgement. Turnus says (11.515): 'I am planning an ambush', literally 'acts of stealth' *(furta)*, and further: 'There is a winding glen, a place cut out for ambush And bloody strategems', literally 'for deceit and the guile of arms' (*fraudi armorumque dolis*). When Livy calls the strategem of an ambush characteristic of Hannibal,[91] Virgil's implied judgement is clear: such treachery was characteristic of Rome's enemies.

Turnus' love of war is plain in his speech in the Great Council (11.411ff) and again after its conclusion. Although he has accepted single combat with Aeneas, Turnus seizes the moment (459) and gives orders for battle, as soon as the chance for war arises with the advance of Aeneas and his army through the plain. It is left open whether he is shirking combat with Aeneas: he is certainly eager for war. Later (12.18ff), when Latinus tries to dissuade Turnus from fighting with Aeneas for the hand of Lavinia, diplomatically though not truthfully taking the full responsibility for the war on his own shoulders, it becomes evident that now after the defeat of the cavalry battle and after Camilla's death no one wants to continue the war. Turnus is completely isolated, but he will not desist, driven on by his desire for power and gold and, most of all, his passion for Lavinia (12.70), though he is now ready for single combat, since war is no longer possible.

The deep-seated violence of Turnus' nature is, of course, the driving power in his lust for battle. Called forth at the beginning by Allecto possessing him, it is now also rampant when he is free to choose (12.9f, 45f). Its fiercest blaze is expressed in his address to his own spear (95ff) and in the description of his rage (101f) followed by the simile of a bull spoiling for a fight.

The fourth phase of the *Aeneid* culminates in the conclusion of the treaty between Aeneas and Latinus, arranging for the duel and its conditions. The duel was, as we saw, spontaneously proposed by Aeneas (11.115ff) and is now finally accepted by Turnus under the pressure of the circumstances and his own desires, but without any compulsion from the divine side. Such a treaty is, of course, also Jupiter's will (10.15). But it is reached by the free decision of the combatants.

One further feature in Virgil's construction of Turnus' actions and fate needs discussion, as it forms the framework of events in the concluding part of the epic: it is the ancient institution of the *deuotio*.[92]

At the end of the Council called by Latinus, Turnus says:

> '. . . I'll go out and face Aeneas
> With all my heart. I, Turnus, second in courage to none of
> Our ancestors, solemnly vow my life to you and Latinus
> Whose son I would be. Aeneas challenges me alone—
> I welcome it. Whether heaven's wrath or honour and glory that's in it,
> I would not let Drances be martyr to one or crowned with the other.' (11.440ff)

The *deuotio* was an ancient religious action. But it was also, though in a greatly weakened form, topical in Rome when Virgil composed his *Aeneid*. For in 27 B.C., when the solemn name of Augustus was offered to and accepted by Octavian, enthusiasm ran high. In the midst of it, as Cassius Dio reports, a certain

> 'Sextus Pacuuius . . . in the open senate . . . dedicated himself to him after the fashion of the Spaniards and advised the others to do the same. And when Augustus hindered him, he rushed out to the crowd that was standing near, and, as he was tribune, compelled first them and then the rest, as he went up and down the streets and lanes, to dedicate themselves to Augustus. From this episode we (says Dio in the second century A.D.) are wont even now to say, in appealing to the sovereign, "We have dedicated ourselves to you".' (*Roman History* LIII 20.2f).[93]

It is plain that this is some sort of public declaration of what we should call 'devotion' or, as Dio thinks, an act of gross flattery, but hardly a religious act of the seriousness of the ancient *deuotio*.

The old institution is known best from the famous *deuotiones* of the two Decii, father and son.[94] The situation in each case was a battle in which the Romans were threatened with defeat. At that point in events, the *deuotio* was undertaken in order to enlist the help of the gods for the Romans. Thus the older Decius says before proceeding to the *deuotio:* 'We are in need of the help of the gods.' In an old solemn formula the commanding magistrate vowed his life to the Earth and the gods of the underworld and together with his own life the lives of the enemy army. He then entered the thick of battle expecting to be killed and believing that the gods would in return destroy the enemy and give victory to the Romans. The underlying presupposition of this action is that any battle is a judgement of the gods: victory is of their giving, and defeat is a consequence of the wrath of the gods.[95] When the Roman commander voluntarily laid down his life in battle, he became a human sacrifice intended to expiate a sin committed[96] and so to appease the anger of the gods directed against his people. The fact that the *deuotio* of the Roman commander included the enemy's lives seems to rest on magical belief, as if the Roman leader's sacrificial death could draw after it the deaths of his enemies. There is a sense of the miraculous and supernatural in the description of Decius plunging 'into the thick of the enemy, a conspicuous object from either army and of an aspect more august than a man's, as though sent from heaven to expiate *(piaculum)* all anger of the gods, and to turn aside destruction from his people and bring it on their adversaries.' The effect was terror among the hostile ranks: 'Wherever he rode, men cowered as though blasted by some baleful star' (Livy VIII 9.12); and the effect of the *deuotio* of the younger Decius is similar: 'The Gauls, and especially the press about the body of the consul (*scil.* Decius), as though deprived of reason, were darting their javelins at random and without effect, while some were in a daze, and could neither fight nor run away' (Livy X 29.2).

In the *deuotio* of S. Pacuuius Taurus to Augustus, there is no battle situation, no enemy to defeat, nor in the later *deuotiones* to Caligula. These are described by Suetonius as made 'for the wellbeing' of the emperor. Augustus tried, as we have seen, to prevent such a *deuotio;* and Pacuuius never took his own life on Augustus' behalf. But Caligula, in the end, demanded the fulfilment of *deuotiones* (Suet., *Cal.* 27). One man who had made the vow that he would die for the wellbeing of the emperor was handed over to slaves who were told to lead him through the streets decked out with the branches and sacred bands of a sacrificial victim demanding of him the fulfilment of his vow, until in the end he was hurled to his death from the Tarpeian rock. The passage shows that even in the first century A.D. the death of one who had made a *deuotio* was conceived as a sacrifice.

Turnus in 'devoting' his life to Latinus and the Latins in the proposed duel with Aeneas envisages the two alternatives of defeat or victory in a telling way. Victory means 'valour and fame' (*uirtus et gloria* 11.444); defeat means atoning for the anger of the gods by death *(morte luat).* This *deuotio* partakes of features both in the ancient and in the contemporary *deuotio.* Like the old form, it takes place in a context of fighting and relates to appeasing the anger of the gods. But Turnus does not, like the Decii, seek his own death in order to win victory for the Latins by sacrificing himself. He wants to win. His *deuotio* is, therefore, undertaken in the more 'modern' sense for the benefit and wellbeing *(pro salute)* of those to whom he devotes his life, whether in defeat or success. This means that, if he is killed, his death will be a sacrificial death appeasing the anger of the gods against the Latins.

But even as Turnus speaks of the wrath of the gods, this is ominous. That this wrath has already struck the Latins is plain to their grieving king even before the great Council: 'The wrath of the gods, the new graves in front of his eyes, told him Heaven's will was beyond dispute and Aeneas had fate behind him' (11.232f). The new graves are the consequence and sign of the gods' anger.[97] To the Romans, defeat in battle, like any other public calamity, was caused by angry gods who had to be appeased if further disaster was to be avoided.[98] It is in this situation that Turnus' *deuotio* is made. The truth about the situation had been understood by Latinus even before the war actually began and he had warned his people: 'Oh! We are pounded by doom, adrift at the storm's mercy! It is you, poor souls, who will pay in your own blood for this sacrilege. Yours is the guilt, Turnus; punishment most severe is in store for you' (7.594ff). Also, when Aeneas has received the 'sign' of war from Venus, he says:

> 'Ah, what terrible slaughter awaits the Laurentines now!
> What a price *(poenas)* you will pay me, Turnus! . . .
> . . . Now let them clamour for war and break their treaties.'
> (8.537ff)

Turnus' words about the gods' anger ominously recall all this and foreshadow disaster. But for the time being the duel is postponed by Aeneas' advance and Turnus' own drive into war.

To sum up, the key idea of the fourth phase, as of the fifth, the 'greater' theme, in fact, of the second half of the *Aeneid*, is the conclusion of a treaty between the incoming Trojans and the indigenous Latins and their allies, a treaty as the precondition of a peaceful settlement, and as the fulfilment of Jupiter's will.

Such a treaty had been concluded between Aeneas and Latinus at the end of the third phase. Juno intervenes abruptly and breaks up the chance of peace by sending Allecto to Amata and Turnus and among the Latins and by herself opening the Gate of War (Book 7). An inset of two books follows. In journeying to find help Aeneas is guided by Tiberinus to Euander, by the Etruscan seer to the leadership of the Etruscan army, and he is aided by

Venus (Book 8), while Turnus, incited by Juno through Iris and then aided by Juno, attacks the Trojan camp in his absence and all but takes it, prevented only by his own fighting madness. Jupiter's intervention begins when through Iris he forbids Juno to assist Turnus any further (Book 9). The full turn comes when in the divine assembly Jupiter requests from the two goddesses the conclusion of a treaty. As he meets nothing but 'strife' among them, he transfers the freedom of initiative to Aeneas and Turnus: at the end of the fourth phase the treaty is concluded (Books 10, 11, 12 beginning).

After Jupiter's decree in the divine assembly of Book 10 and according to this decree, the influence of the gods on men is, to all intents and purposes, eliminated. In so far as this is so by Jupiter's decree, the latter half of the fourth phase proceeds by his will. It does so also in another sense: Aeneas and Turnus by their free actions reveal of what manner of spirit they are. Aeneas fights for and achieves what Jupiter wants: the conclusion of a treaty. Aeneas has truly become Jupiter's viceroy on earth.

Fifth Phase: 12.134, 216–end

Book 12

In the fifth phase, the gods once again enter into the action, Jupiter himself in a finally decisive manner. This fifth phase is introduced less abruptly than the previous phases, in harmony with the less violent emotions of Juno: it is, in fact, dove-tailed with the end of the fourth phase.

When the preparations for the ceremony of the conclusion of the treaty are made and everybody is waiting for King Latinus and his train and Aeneas and his people to arrive, a turn of events is inaugurated: 'But Juno' (134) looked down on this scene from the top of the Alban hill. 'Suddenly' (138) she spoke to Juturna, sister of Turnus, a divine river nymph. First gently, then with passionate impatience she commands her to save her brother from death, destroy the treaty, and stir up war. The treaty is then solemnly concluded with speeches by Aeneas and Latinus, its very solemnity overcast with irony through Juno's renewed machinations. The coming change of events has its basis in human attitudes. The Rutulians are concerned at the odds which Turnus is facing in the duel. Turnus at the altar is cast down and pale. Juturna turns the situation from a treaty concluded to open war in two steps.[1] Mingling with the men in the guise of noble Camers, she rouses them by persuasion so that their minds are 'changed' (*ipsi Laurentes mutati ipsique Latini* 240). They now want war and annulment of the treaty. Then she sends them a 'greater thing', a sign from heaven: an eagle snatches up a noble swan from among a great host of birds, but they attack him until he drops it and flees. This prodigy caused by Juturna who acts out of the will of Juno 'threw the minds of the Italians into confusion and deceived them by the portent' (246). The Rutulians acclaim the sign as an *augurium,*[2] and the augur Tolumnius formally accepts it as such, interpreting it as a favourable omen, Turnus being the swan, and with an inflammatory speech leads them into battle by hurling his spear and killing an Etruscan.[3] The breach of the barely concluded treaty is made all the more outrageous by the Italian leader Messapus, 'eager to break the treaty' (290), who slaughters the Etruscan prince Aulestes on one of the very altars of the treaty with the words, 'This is a better victim to give to the great gods!' (296). That is sacrilege indeed.

The poet, using the Homeric device of 'retardation' by representing the treaty as broken, makes room for further characterization of the two protagonists. Aeneas unarmed tries to stem the new strife (*discordia* 313) until he is wounded by an arrow, the source of it being for the time being unknown, although eventually Juno lets it emerge that Juturna shot the arrow (815).[4] Never before had Juno's anger gone so far as to harm Aeneas bodily. Turnus does not try to uphold the treaty. On the contrary, when he sees Aeneas withdraw he calls for arms and chariot. He is suddenly full of hope (325) and fights with Homeric abandon. Pointedly, he is compared with the war god Mars himself (331ff). The two scenes show the opposition, already plain in Book 11, between Turnus, lover of war, and Aeneas, lover of peace guaranteed by treaty.

The scene of Aeneas suffering his wound is designed to show his endurance and his contempt for physical pain (387ff, 400). In the end, as Juno through Juturna has come to Turnus' aid, so Venus now heals Aeneas and restores him to full strength. 'Greedy for the fight' (*auidus pugnae* 430), he arms and re-enters battle. Leading a tremendous charge in which Tolumnius, breaker of the treaty, is killed, Aeneas himself will fight with no one but Turnus, for whom he searches in the dense cloud of dust (466f): his 'lust for fighting' is strictly controlled by the terms of the treaty. When in his baffled search he barely escapes being struck by the spear of Messapus, he at last gives up his attempts to uphold the treaty:

> 'Aeneas then got really angry: his hand had been forced by
> Their treachery. Seeing that Turnus had driven off, well out of reach,
> He repeatedly called to witness Jove and the altar of the broken
> Treaty, and then at last went in at the foe, with the flood-tide
> Of battle behind him, gave rein to the pent-up fury within him,
> And terribly unleashed a fierce, indiscriminate slaughter.'
> (12.494ff)

According to Quinn,[5] 'unable to restrain his anger, he succumbs, with a prayer to Jove for pardon, to the universal lust for blood.' But we know that in the *Aeneid* rage cannot be condemned simply because it is rage.[6] We must ask for its cause: it is the broken treaty, of course. Aeneas' prayer to Jupiter is a call to the god to be witness to the fact that the treaty is irrevocably broken, since Jupiter together with other divinities had been asked to witness to the treaty when it was sworn (12.178); and Latinus had particularly emphasized Jupiter's relationship to treaties by saying: 'May the Father, whose lightning sanctions our treaties, hear me!' (200). That this was no empty rhetoric to the Romans is apparent from events in the war of the Romans with the Latins in 340 B.C., as described by Livy (8.5.1ff). Jupiter, called upon as witness to a broken treaty, was expected to come with power to fight against the breaker of the treaty. Therefore, after Aeneas' invocation of Jupiter on account of the broken treaty we must expect to see Jupiter himself actively on the side of the Trojans. The anger which surges up in Aeneas (494) is an anger as it belongs to fighting in general. But, beyond that, its fury is increased for Aeneas by his justifiable wrath over the treachery of the enemy and particularly of Turnus who never tried to stem the renewed battle.

On Aeneas' return to the fighting, Turnus avoids him by devious driving around which is compared with the swiftly changing flight of a swallow. This action is initiated by Juturna who in her anxiety for Turnus has thrown out the charioteer Metiscus and assuming his form tries to take her brother out of harm's way; and Turnus passively submits.

A double invocation on the poet's part marks the beginning of the renewed full-scale war which follows (500ff). The first is directed to whatever god will help in the singing, the second to Jupiter: 'Jupiter, was it your will that nations Destined to live at peace for ever, should clash so bitterly?' The poet himself reproaches Jupiter for allowing this war: another pointer to Jupiter's intervention. Aeneas in his fury kills a Rutulian, Sucro, thus causing the Trojans who had been turned to flight by Turnus (369, 406ff) to stand their ground again (505f). Thereafter, the battle rages equally.

A new move is initiated by Venus, who 'sent to Aeneas the thought' (*mentem Aeneae . . . misit* 554) of a surprise attack on the city itself. Seeing the city at peace, 'immediately, the vision of a greater battle fires him' (560). An attack on the city had, of course, been planned by him earlier (11.17, cf. 11.906). Now, in the midst of fighting, he calls in the briefest words his Trojans to this sudden new task to set fire to the city: he knows Jupiter is on his side (565); the war is evil and must be brought to an end; the restitution of the treaty must be demanded by fire (573).

Aeneas himself, leading the charge of his men to the city walls, with a loud voice accuses King Latinus and calls the gods to witness that he has been forced into war a second time and that the second treaty has been broken. The religious and moral judgements which determine this strategic and political action are explicitly stated. The result is discord in the city. Another disaster ensues when Queen Amata, unable to see Turnus and his followers among the enemy attacking the walls and hurling fire on to the roofs, believes him dead and takes her own life, a victim of the evasiveness if not cowardice of Turnus. Grief and despair pervade the city and torment Latinus. The anger of Jupiter is plainly visited upon the city.

Relief comes to the city from Turnus who, at last, freely decides to face Aeneas and death. He arrives at this decision in two stages. Fighting among stragglers, he hears the noise of lamentation from the distant city. When he stops, Juturna tries to persuade him to continue fighting where he is—and this is, of course, still according to Juno's will. But now Turnus frees himself from her influence finally. That he can do so is still the effect of Jupiter's ordinance in Book 10. He has long since recognized Juturna as breaking the treaty and causing this war: he acquiesced in it. But now that he has seen his dearest friends die in battle, his sense of honour is reawakened and he is prepared to fight the duel and die.[7] He knows now that 'the will of the Heavenly Ones is against him' (647), and he prays to the gods of the underworld for their goodwill, ready to face death honourably and worthy of his ancestors. Here Turnus recovers his own heroism.

When Saces brings news of the desperate situation of the city and how the last chance of salvation lies in him who is driving his chariot over an empty field, Turnus is plunged into a turmoil of emotions. The poet here shows most explicitly the unstable complexity of this man. Perhaps the best characterization of Turnus would be as a man who, according to Aristotle,[8] is 'evenly uneven', particularly as far as 'valour' is concerned. He lacks the 'steady courage' *(constantia)* of Aeneas. He is now ashamed, because he has been fleeing rather than fighting in the front rank.[9] He grieves for Amata and the stricken city and this grief is mingled with madness which urges him into the fight, as it did Mezentius (10.871). Once more the fury of love shakes him, and his awareness of his own valour rises up. Every one of these emotions drives him into battle. When the dark turmoil lifts from his mind, turning towards the city he sees a defence tower which he built himself go up in flames: his mind is made up. In his words to Juturna he acknowledges the superior power of fate: 'Whither the god and cruel Fortune call me let me follow' (677). He has, at last, learned the lesson which Nautes taught Aeneas (5.709f):[10] obedience to fate and the god. This obedience means facing Aeneas and death with honour. But before his death, he begs Juturna to let him 'be mad with this madness' (*hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem* 630). This madness may be no more than the rage or fury of the fighter. But it may also be the effect of the hostility of the gods, a madness which is a portent pointing to his death.[11]

Like a rock hurtling down a mountain side, Turnus breaks through the ranks to the city wall and stops the fighting:

> 'Cease now, Rutulians, and you, Latins, hold back your spears!
> Whatever the fortune is, it is mine. It is better that I, one man,
> Should atone on your behalf for the broken treaty and decide
> by the sword.' (12.693ff)[12]

Here, Turnus explicitly rejects Juturna's persuasive argument that the Rutulians should be ashamed to cast away one life, that of Turnus, for them all (229).[13] Turnus now desires in his own person to atone for the broken treaty on behalf of all the Italian warriors. The key idea is *foedus luere*. In the Aeneid, the verb *luere* means to 'expiate', as Mackail points out.[14] Turnus had not himself initiated the breaking of the treaty, nor had the other Italians. The augur Tolumnius who broke it through being deceived by Juturna was soon killed. But neither Turnus nor the Italians had, like Aeneas, insisted on upholding the treaty: they are all guilty before Jupiter, witness of its conclusion and called to witness by Aeneas. In this situation, in which the anger of the highest god must be expected to descend upon the whole Italian side, Turnus transcends the limitation of his own honour and offers himself as the expiatory sacrifice on behalf of all his people. He is at last ready to fulfil the *deuotio* which he made in the Council of Book 11. With his death the guilt which now rests on Latinus and Turnus and all their people will be atoned for, and the path into a future *cum pace deorum* will be guaranteed. We are led to expect the anger of Jupiter to descend upon him soon.

The duel begins. Jupiter holds the balance of the two fates even (725ff): the moment for his action has not yet come. Once again and for the last time Juturna and Venus intervene. Juturna gives Turnus a sword, Venus to Aeneas his spear so that the two champions are able to start afresh. Here, at last, Jupiter intervenes finally between the goddesses. Conciliating Juno, he turns her from resentment (*exosa* 818) to a change of heart and joy (*mentem laetata retorsit* 841);[15] the reconciliation is achieved by an agreement about the relationship of the Trojans and the Latins as it had already been foreshadowed in the peace terms proposed by Aeneas (12.187ff). This means that there is peace now among the gods themselves.

Next, Jupiter plans to stop Juturna from helping her brother. His instrument is one of the two Furies that dwell beside his throne, the Cruel Goddesses (12.845ff). Their spirit, expressed by their horrifying appearance,[16] is like the 'savage' mind of Jupiter. For they are 'attendants at the throne of Jupiter and appear on the threshold of the savage king' (849).[17] When 'the king of the gods causes terrifying death and disease or frightens by war cities that deserve it' (851f),[18] it is the work of these Cruel Goddesses to 'sharpen the fear'. The city of Latinus involved in the breaking of two treaties deserves to be terrorized by war: the Cruel One is sent against this city's champion. The swiftness of her flight to earth is compared with the speed of a poisoned arrow, 'weapon against which there is no remedy' (858), a simile which foreshadows the death of Turnus.[19] On earth, she turns into an owl, bird of ill omen (864).[20] In this form, 'the plague flies and flies again at the face of Turnus and whips his shield with its wings' (865f).[21] This is a prodigy which, as always, is perceived with terror: 'A new numbness loosed his limbs with fear, his hair stood on end with terror, and his voice stuck in his throat' (867f).[22] The meaning of this prodigy is twofold according to the basic 'idea of a prodigy', as Kleinknecht has demonstrated it:[23] 'Because it does not only point to the imminent destruction, but also sets it going, it is more than a sign which vaguely announces the divine wrath. It is itself a step forward of Fate on the path of its realization in history.' Juturna recognizes the 'deadly sound' of the Fury's wings and the 'proud command of great-hearted Jupiter' (877). The prodigy indicates to her the imminent death of Turnus and causes her to leave him, so that he has now no divine protection at all. Fiercely challenged by Aeneas, Turnus replies: 'Your violent words do not frighten me, cruel man: the gods frighten me and Jupiter who is my enemy' (894f).[24] Turnus has recognized that the bird attacking him is the weapon of Jupiter's wrath which will strike him down; and as he recognizes it, it happens. For the numbness that seized him forthwith (867) does not leave him. Lifting a mighty boulder, he tries to hurl it, but increasingly loses awareness of himself, as if stunned,[25] impotent like a man in a dream: 'Thus the Cruel Goddess denied success to Turnus no matter with what courage he sought a way' (913f). Hesitant and afraid, Turnus offers a ready target for Aeneas who strikes him down, thrusting his spear through his thigh.

The way in which Virgil has built up the numinous force at this culmination of Jupiter's ingression into human action is well illuminated by a comparable story in Livy (7.26.1ff). The Romans, expecting an engagement with the Gauls, kept quiet in their camp when a big and magnificently armed Gaul came forward and challenged any one of the Romans to a single combat. Valerius accepted the challenge with the consul's permission.

> 'But the human interest of the combat was eclipsed by the intervention of the gods *(numine interposito deorum);* for the Roman was in the very act of engaging, when suddenly a raven alighted on his helmet, facing his adversary. This the tribune first received with joy, as a heaven-sent augury, and then prayed that whosoever, be it god or goddess, had sent the auspicious bird might attend him with favour and protection. Marvellous to relate, the bird not only held to the place it had chosen, but as often as the combatants closed, it rose on its wings and attacked the enemy's face and eyes with beak and talons, till he was terror-struck with the sight of such a portent, and bewildered at once in his vision and his mind, was dispatched by Valerius—whereupon the raven flew off towards the east and was lost to sight.'[26]

Whether Virgil knew the story from Livy or a predecessor of Livy,[27] the owlet attacking Turnus is Virgil's emotionally more highly charged version of the 'historical ' raven. The aggression of this raven was taken to be a concrete event that once took place in such a duel. In Livy's account, the divine meaning of what happens is immediately stated and then described factually from the human side. No particular god is mentioned; and Valerius in his prayer cautiously addresses both god and goddess in order to avoid a mistake from ignorance. In Virgil's epic tale, both the divine and the human side of the bird's attack are fully elaborated, as we have seen.

The model for a god's attack on a man is in the *Iliad* (16.791ff):[28] Apollo stood behind Patroclus

> 'and struck his back and broad shoulders with a flat stroke of the hand so that his eyes spun. Phoibos Apollo now struck away from his head the helmet. . . . And in his hands was splintered

> all the huge . . . spear, and away from his shoulders dropped to the ground the shield. . . . The lord Apollo, son of Zeus, broke the corselet upon him. Disaster caught his wits, and his shining body went nerveless.'

After all this, Euphorbus struck him with his spear and Hector stabbed him mortally. Even so, Jupiter beats Turnus into impotence, and only then Aeneas strikes him down, not wounding him mortally though. Once again, a small space is left for free will. Turnus, inconstant in character and forgetful of the sacrifice of his life which he vowed, giving up all his claims not only begs for his body to be returned to his father but perhaps even for his life to be granted to him. The poet makes room for his hero to show his spirit of gentleness and mercy: Aeneas hesitates more and more. But mercy cannot have the last word when a greater claim, according to Roman value judgements, the claim of justice, is not satisfied. When Aeneas in the end, at the sight of Pallas' belt, slays Turnus in a great burst of rage, he not only fulfils his obligations towards Euander, guest-friend *(hospes)*, friend *(amicus)*, ally *(socius)*, and distant kinsman, but he also punishes Turnus for not upholding the treaty, for his treachery, his lack of *fides*. His rage is righteous anger.[29] More than that: he kills Turnus in the name of Pallas, handing over to his young dead friend the honour of having killed the leader of the enemy, in this way fulfilling his hope of winning the *spolia opima* from Turnus (10.449).[30] Furthermore, he 'slaughters' Turnus *(immolat)* thus making of Turnus the sacrificial victim he had vowed himself to be on behalf of his people.[31] The life-spirit of Turnus departs under protest, a last expression of his inconsistency, just as earlier he begged for his life. But Jupiter has already made peace with Juno and settled the relationship between the Trojans and Italians. Turnus' sacrifice will be accepted, however imperfectly offered. He has freely declared himself ready to die and so has become the sacrifice through which the Latins and Rutulians are cleared of their guilt for the broken treaty. The epic ends with the reconciliation of the future Romans with the gods: the way is open for the foundation of Rome's mother city.

The fifth phase is brief like the first. Most of the events are caused by the gods. Juno through the instrumentality of Juturna breaks the treaty, wounds Aeneas, and takes Turnus out of the road when Aeneas returns. Venus heals Aeneas' wound and suggests the attack on the city. But the decisive turn comes through Turnus' free decision to die in obedience to fate and the god.

Then Jupiter himself acts, with supreme finality, by reconciling Juno and sending the Cruel Goddess against Turnus, Jupiter the god 'who enforces the sanctity of treaties with his lightning' (12.200).[32] It is *his* judgement that Aeneas executes in killing Turnus.

Conclusion
THE PLOT OF THE *AENEID* AND THE GODS IN IT

Finally, our investigation into the actions of the gods in the *Aeneid* leads us to the problem of the plot of the epic. This must be clearly distinguished from the structure or the 'architecture' of the epic which has been discussed fully by Duckworth.

Duckworth starts from Conway's observation that the odd-numbered books of the *Aeneid* are of a 'lighter or Odyssean type', while the even-numbered books 'reflect the graver colour of the Iliad', and works out a parallelism between Books 1–6 and 7–12 which is more than a matter of weight and mood; indeed, also one of content.[1] To this analysis into two halves Duckworth adds a 'tripartite division' of a central core, 5–8, framed by 1–4 and 9–12,[2] which had already been suggested by Büchner. Duckworth discusses this structure in terms of Virgil's use of 'tragedy' and of epic material and also finds added significance for Conway's alternating rhythm within this tripartite division.[3]

While this 'architecture' is, of course, related to the 'plot' of the epic, it is not the same. It is concerned with the distribution of mood or tone and with the relationships between the ideas and images of the content, but not with the coherence and the motivations of actions and events. It must, therefore, not take the place of a consideration of the plot.

The plot, in this precise sense, has been discussed by R. Heinze.[4] He summarizes his findings as follows: 'What has been said so far about the unity of the poem was concerned with the undisturbed course of the action, the logical coherence of the whole. We saw that Virgil did, indeed, strive for this but was not able to eliminate the traces of the fact that the various parts of the poem had not grown organically out of one comprehensive conception.' Heinze describes the action which, as Aristotle demands, forms the unity of the epos, as 'the transmigration ('Uebersiedelung') of the Trojans or the transference of the household gods *(penates)* from Troy to Latium'. According to him, the main action of the first half is 'the journey of Aeneas from Troy to Latium'; and the action of the second half 'leads from the arrival of Aeneas in Latium to the final securing of the Trojan settlement.' He finds parts of the epic 'episodic' in the bad sense, that is, thinly or not at all integrated into the main action. I should go much further in my criticism if I were to accept Heinze's description of the action of the whole epic as 'the transmigration of the Trojans or the transference of the household gods from Troy to Latium', because it leaves the curious zigzag movement of their travel and the long-drawn out affair of settling in Latium quite unmotivated. The reason for this appears as soon as we ask the following questions: How did Aeneas come to leave Troy with Anchises? Why did Aeneas travel to the places in the Aegaean which he visited? Why did Aeneas land in Africa instead of going straight to Latium? Why did he stay in Carthage as long as he did? And why did he leave in the end? Why did he not sail straight to Latium instead of to Sicily? Why not from there to Latium but to Cumae first? Why, after the arrival in Latium, did the settlement not proceed quietly as it is described in the earlier part of Book 7? The answer to all these questions is that the cause of these events lies beyond the human world: the major motivations come from the gods and the divine dead. But this suggests that Heinze's formulation of the action *(praxis)* of the *Aeneid* cannot be right. Such a formulation must, in some form, include the activity of the gods and spirits of the dead; in short, the divine world.

Like Heinze, Brooks Otis describes the plot of the *Aeneid* from the human side: 'Essentially the real "plot" of the *Aeneid* is that of the formation and victory of the *Augustan* hero'.[5] 'Virgil's epic had to deal with his hero's formation, his attainment of *pietas*, as well as with his mature performance,' the 'pivotal rebirth' coming in the middle of the epic. This idea, according to Otis, 'dictated in effect the plan of the whole poem: six books depicting the inner struggle for *pietas;* six books depicting the triumph of *pietas* over the *impii.*' But Otis himself realizes that this description is not sufficient and presently speaks of 'three levels of conflict in the epic:

(1) That between Fate (Jupiter) and Counter-Fate (Juno),

(2) That between Aeneas and his own passions,

and (3) That between Aeneas and the *impii,*'

all these three levels extending through the entire *Aeneid*, the second emphasized in Books 1–6, the third in Books 7–12.

In our analysis of the five phases of the epic, we certainly believe we have shown that the events of the *Aeneid*, by and large, are instigated by the gods along with fate. This establishes a firm connection between Otis's first, the divine level, on the one hand, and the two human levels on the other, a connection which is much tighter than the parallelism envisaged by Otis and others.

Still in terms of 'structure' or 'architecture', but much closer to a real view of the plot, is V. Buchheit's description of the *Aeneid*.[6] He sees in Juno 'the embodiment of the hostile power in opposition to which Aeneas with his people has to prove himself and fight his way as a man called by fate to a great mission'. This motif is, according to Buchheit, developed into the 'carrying structure' of the epic. It is like 'a mighty bridge, which is carried by three pylons (in I, VII, and XII) to which are added some supporting pillars'. Accordingly, Buchheit analyses Juno's work in Book I (Storm and Aeolus), in Book VII (Allecto), and in Book XII (791ff, the reconciliation between her and Jupiter). He goes further when he says e.g. that 'the *Aeneid* is enclosed within the antithesis: Aeneas —Juno,'[7] but he does not carry this idea through to its conclusion.

When, as we have tried to do, *all* the interventions of Juno and the counteractions of Jupiter are taken to be the moving forces in the action of the epic, the result is a description of our five phases. Let us then summarize the result.

The plot of the *Aeneid* understood in terms of five phases is concentric in structure. The first and fifth phases are both shorter than a book. The second and fourth phases are long and complex, comprising a main line of action and two preparatory books in the form of 'insets' within the main action. The third and central phase consists of Book 6 and about a third of the preceding and the following books. The structural shape, from the purely formal point of view, is then: a b c b a, a form which is characteristic for Homeric composition in many sizes.

The two 'insets' (Books 2 and 3 and Books 8 and 9) fit with precision into this form. Book 2, the Fall of Troy through the anger of the gods, corresponds to Book 9 in which the Trojan camp, laid out by Aeneas himself (7.157ff) and called 'Troy being born' or 'Troy growing anew' by both Venus and Juno (10.27 and 74f), is attacked and nearly destroyed, but saved by Jupiter's message to Juno. Book 3, the 'Wanderings' of Aeneas, correspond to Book 8, the journeys of Aeneas to Pallanteum and Etruria for help.[8]

Within this harmoniously poised structure, a violent crescendo of action develops, comes to a clash, and is resolved. In a less drastic fashion, this movement is also characteristic of each phase, where the resolution, however, is only temporary. The divine agents who dominate this development of the action are, of course, Jupiter and Juno.

In the *first* phase, a clash takes place between the winds of Aeolus, who is incited to action by Juno, and Neptune, who acts on his own behalf but is on Jupiter's side throughout the *Aeneid*. The clash remains at a distance from both Juno and Jupiter.

In the *second* phase, after Jupiter has set Anchises and Aeneas on their destined road, Juno (with Venus) acts directly upon Dido and Aeneas. Jupiter acts through Mercury on Aeneas and on Dido through her curse.

In the *third* phase, Juno acts through Iris on the Trojan women (not now on Aeneas himself). Jupiter entreated by Aeneas first acts directly by counteracting Iris' mischief, then through Anchises.

In the *fourth* phase, Juno acts through Allecto, in her own person and through Iris, to bring about war. Then Jupiter sends Iris to Juno herself to stop her. In the personal confrontation between Jupiter, Juno, and Venus the clash is now explicit: Juno rages and does *not* address Jupiter, while Venus does. Jupiter's word of power stops Juno's actions and creates freedom in the human world. Soon after, Jupiter and Juno converse in private, Juno being humble, though still hopeful of getting her own way.

In the *fifth* phase, Juno once more tries to act through Juturna, but Jupiter confronts her in person, and a true reconciliation is achieved. Jupiter then, for the first and last time, acts directly against Turnus by sending the *Dira,* thus fulfilling both Turnus' *deuotio* and the curse implied in the treaty sworn by Latinus and broken.

The plot is then shaped by the theme of the relationship between Jupiter and Juno, not their mutual relationship in itself, but their antagonism or harmony concerning Aeneas and his task.

But the interventions of the gods were seen to be mostly abrupt, constituting a break or a reversal. The question arises whether they are a crude, rather external means used by the poet to organize his material or whether the activities and personal relationships of the gods form a coherent story integrated by a pervasive purpose in Aristotle's sense.[9] Fate has ordained—and Jupiter is Fate's ultimate personal executive power—that Trojan Aeneas is to found the city of Rome's origin in Latium. Juno, loving Carthage and full of hate and anger against the Trojans, intervenes. Do her interventions make a coherent story? Her first attack on the Trojans, through the Storm, is a wild passionate onslaught intended to disperse or destroy the Trojan fleet (1.69f). This attempt at wholesale destruction is foiled by Neptune. We hear nothing about Juno and can only surmise that her 'unforgetting anger' (1.4) and the 'eternal wound in her heart' (1.36) continue to smoulder and fester. Seeing Dido in love with Aeneas through Venus, Juno uses guile in order to divert empire from Italy to Carthage, as Venus perceives. Having failed to destroy the Trojans, she is now ready to let them live. But she wants to keep them at Carthage even if they are to be the masters there: Carthage will then become the ruling city of the Mediterranean, not Rome. Her ruse is foiled by Jupiter. Aeneas and his people sail to Sicily. But 'Juno plots many things and has not yet satisfied the long-standing grievance of her heart' (5.608): Iris is sent to incite the Trojan women to burn the ships. If this plan had succeeded, the Trojans would have been forced to settle in Sicily. Unable to reach Latium, they would be prevented from founding the mother city of Rome. For the third time, Juno's attack is repelled, and the Trojan warriors led by Aeneas arrive in Latium and begin to settle. In the furious outburst of her frustration Juno makes explicit what her aim had been which now will not be fulfilled: 'It will not be granted to me to prevent him from becoming king of Latium; be it so!' (7.313). By attempting to disperse or destroy the Trojans, by tying them to Carthage, by imprisoning them in Sicily, she had tried in vain to stall the forward movement of the Trojans towards Latium. The only thing that is left to her now is to delay what will ultimately come about (315ff). Because her scope is now very restricted, her anger rises to its peak in calling up Allecto and in daring to give strength to Turnus fighting the Trojans in their own camp, but here she is finally checked by Jupiter through Iris (9.804). In the divine assembly her banked-up rage is released in a long speech and then brought to a halt by Jupiter whose word of power deprives her of all possibility of action. She is a changed person when Jupiter at last addresses her: her passion spent she pleads for Turnus and is granted delay of his death. But this delay is a very much smaller affair than the delay she caused by rousing Allecto. Even at this point, however, she clings to the hope of life for Turnus and eventually sends Juturna to attempt to save him. At last, Jupiter checks her finally and she submits, first full of hatred, then, when he grants her pleas for what Fate's ordinance does not cover, happily and with a changed mind.

The story is, then, a battle between the gods on behalf of men. This battle is over the goal which has been set by fate, the founding of Lavinium by Aeneas. Jupiter pursues the fulfilment of this goal, defending it against the attacks of Juno who pursues her own aims regarding Carthage. The relationship moves from agreement concerning the destruction of Troy to an ever more intense strife until Jupiter as universal king forbids interference, a command which is accepted by Juno in stages, and, in the end, made acceptable to Juno by Jupiter's gracious concessions. The course of Juno's anger and its end are the convincing story of a passionate rebellious heart brutally and even fiendishly at odds with what is highest.

What is the meaning of this strife and reconciliation in the divine world? The nature of fate is twofold. It is concerned with the final issue to which events must move; and it comprises much that must necessarily happen within this course of events in order to bring about that issue in the right way. The first is simple and would, if it were all, be a straight movement to its goal, without any drama and certainly in no way a picture of historical events in their complexity.

Fate as comprising both these factors is an abstract, impersonal notion of the living cosmos and its movement. Jupiter as the personal cosmic god comprises both the goodness of the goal of world history and the evil of its counter movements, just as according to Varro a man is both his mind and his body.[10] In this capacity, Jupiter foreknows what is going to happen when he makes his prophecy to Venus in Book I, and the contents are things good and bad, culminating in good, such as the war in Italy and the coming of Augustus' reign.

From the polytheistic point of view, both Jupiter and Juno act within the texture of fate. That not only Jupiter, but also Juno is an integral part of fate is clear from the following facts in the *Aeneid.* Jupiter sends Mercury to Dido with the message that she is to receive the Trojans hospitably 'in order that Dido should not, from ignorance of fate (*fati nescia* 1.299),[11] keep them out of her boundaries. This does not mean that Dido is to be made acquainted with this 'fate' (she only slowly comes to grasp it in Book 4), but that she must be prevented from acting against fate at this point, through her ignorance. This implies that the coming of the Trojans to Carthage is ordained by fate, and it is immediately obvious that this must be so, if one recalls that Dido's curse will bring about the Punic Wars, part of the fated history of Rome. But since the arrival of the Trojans at Carthage is caused by Juno's storm and Dido's curse against Aeneas by Juno's machinations, the implication of the phrase *nescia fati* is that Juno is part of fate.[12] Similarly, the foundation of Segesta and the women staying behind in Sicily which creates a situation suggestive of the future rape of the Sabine women are both elements in the course of Roman history and in the *Aeneid* caused by Juno who incites the women to burn the ships. Again, when Jupiter reveals the secret things of fate to Venus, he foretells the war Aeneas will have to wage in Italy (1.263). But this war is caused by Juno through Allecto: again she is manifestly part of fate.

While both Jupiter and Juno, then, are part of fate, their rôles are different. Jupiter works straight towards the fulfilment of the destined goal; Juno strives hard to prevent it, but must against her will inevitably work towards it also. The result is the strangely devious road of the mythical history from Troy to Rome.

But Jupiter and Juno are more than executor and obstacle within the texture of fate. That would be merely mechanical and devoid of ethical values. But in Virgil's thought right and wrong are fundamental. Jupiter is the god of justice and peace, while Juno in her anger is evil and the instigator of strife. Her anger is evil because, as we have seen, the reasons for it are wrong,[13] but it is also evil because it causes undeserved suffering: the death of Dido, one of her own people, and the deep suffering of Aeneas in spite of his *pietas*. She also does much harm to Turnus, unable to save him in the end.

While Juno's anger is most prominent, it is not the only divine anger at work in the epic. Even though Jupiter is never said to be angry, 'anger' is literally built into his lightning bolt (8.426ff). When Vulcan comes to his island forge in order to make armour for Aeneas, the Cyclopes have to lay aside a thunderbolt which they are fashioning for Jupiter: 'They were now mingling into the work terrifying lightning flashes and noise and fear,' 'and anger with its pursuing flames' (*flammisque sequacibus iras* 432).[14] In the 'myth' of Tartarus the Titans 'wallow in the depth struck down by the lightning-bolt' (6.581) and Salmoneus, insolently imitating the highest god, is cast down by the missile of the almighty Father (6.592ff). Dido, who prayed for a lightning bolt if she failed to be loyal to Sychaeus, is hurled into madness and death which in the end however justly restores her to greatness and an 'equal love'.

Turnus, who had 'devoted' his life to the Latins, is killed by Jupiter through the *Dira* and by Aeneas in expiation for the broken treaty sanctified by Jupiter's lightning-bolt (12.200). Jupiter also shares in the 'mercilessness' (*inclementia* 2.602) of the gods when they raze Troy to the ground: its destruction is fated. There is anger, too, in Jupiter's words to Aeneas at Carthage (4.232ff), but it is not an evil passion, like Juno's, it is the mighty voice of what is right.

There are then two kinds of divine anger at work in the *Aeneid:* one all-powerful and in harmony with fate and good, the other an evil passion producing evil and fulfilling fate against its will.[15]

What then is to the Romans the meaning of Juno's anger and of Jupiter's imperious interventions? Are they poetic inventions, a lively and picturesque mythology which makes a fictitious sense of the meanderings of Rome's story on the aesthetic level—or are they more?

Divine anger *(ira deum)* is an intensely real thing to the Romans. Lucretius, whose aim it is to free men from the dread of the gods, after mentioning celestial phenomena such as clouds, sunlight, rain, snow, winds, lightning, hail, and the rapid roar and mighty murmurings of heaven's threats, says: 'Ah, unhappy race of men, when it has assigned such acts to the gods and joined therewith bitter anger' (*atque iras iunxit acerbas* 5.1195). He also cites storms at sea and earthquakes as events behind which men feel the anger of the gods so that by prayers and vows they seek to establish peace with them (*diuum pacem* 5.1229). Similarly, the anger of the gods plays a considerable part in the Roman understanding of political and historical events, as Kleinknecht has shown.[16] According to Livy (4.9.3), the worst disasters in public life, such as civil strife, external wars, famine, and diseases, are believed to be caused by the anger of the gods. Particularly, defeat in battle is again and again referred to divine wrath, as after the victory of Hannibal over the Romans at the Trasumene Lake (Livy 22.9.5) and others. In view of such a calamity, it had to be ascertained, if necessary from the Sibylline books, what omission or sin *(peccatum)* had been committed such as to cause the anger of the gods, and what was required to placate the gods *(quaeque piacula irae deum essent).* The view implied here seems to be that a calamity caused by an angry divinity is the punishment for some negligence or some sinful action. Such is the religious view of divine anger in the Rome of Virgil's time.

To a Roman who held these beliefs the actions of the gods in relation to men as described in the *Aeneid,* in particular their anger whether righteous or evil, would, apart from the anthropomorphic 'vessel' of their appearance, have been a true picture of what happens in individual human lives and, seen more largely, in history. This epic is then not composed to show the actions of men primarily, but to show the actions of the gods in their dealings with men.[17]

The ancient Greeks believed that a king was made by Zeus. When Telemachus in the *Odyssey,* inspired with courage by Athene, challenges the Suitors in the palace for the first time, their leader Antinous says: 'Telemachus, in truth the gods themselves are teaching you to be a bold speaker and to talk with confidence. May Zeus not make you king in sea-girt Ithaca. . . !' (*Od.* 1.384ff). Athene has already begun to teach him to take his place as the master of the house and the future king of Ithaca, and he is further guided by her and later by divine signs. Even so Aeneas is being taught by the gods.[18]

The goal of Jupiter and of fate is the foundation of Rome's mother city. The precondition for its attainment is the *pietas* of Aeneas; his obedience to the gods, even though it can be temporarily forgotten, is the very stuff of his being. The stages on the road towards this goal come to light in the five phases of the action in the *Aeneid.* In the first phase, Aeneas meets imminent death fearlessly, though sick for love of home and forgetful of his mission, but is rescued and encouraged. In the second phase, he falls a prey to a forbidden love and to luxury and is called away by Jupiter. In the third phase, he encounters rebellion among his own people and his ships on fire: his instantaneous prayer to Jupiter for help shows that he is now wholly ready to surrender to the will of the highest god, and so he is taught the nature of the world and the divine will expressed in the fate in store for his descendants. Against death, against moral temptation, in an apparently insoluble conflict of responsibilities, the gods have come to his rescue and finally taught him the future and the right way to act as a Roman.

We have seen[19] that one of Virgil's main reasons for composing a 'Homeric epic' may have been to educate the young Romans of his time towards the religious and moral convictions which seemed to him to be the truth and a guarantee of peace. Through the path on which Aeneas is led by the gods in his education for leadership it is made luminously clear what the gods reject and what they want in men. When Aeneas has been trained and taught by the gods towards his task, he acts freely and in complete obedience to Jupiter on Jupiter's behalf:[20] *dis te minorem quod geris imperas* (Horace, *carm.* 3.6.5).[21]

In conclusion, let us sum up what we have discovered about the nature of the world as Virgil represents it in the *Aeneid.* It is a living divine universe in two senses. On the one hand, the world is One living divine Being: it is the cosmic god Jupiter. This aspect of it is, however, glimpsed only occasionally since its majesty is almost beyond telling. But the world is also a crowded manifold of beings, none devoid of a spark of divine essence, but all distinguished from each other by their degree of moral worth. It is this that relates them to a lower or higher portion of the universe in which light, life, and worth increase as it rises to the summit of the ether. The life of all these beings is ultimately ruled by the ethereal spirit and will of Jupiter. No being, whether god or spirit or human, can in the long run hinder his purpose. All alike either yield and obey or else perish. Thus Jupiter leads the mythico-historical events of this epic world to the point where the fated foundation of Lavinium, mother-city of Rome, is secure.

APPENDIX A
ira and furor

It is essential for a clarification of the relationships between gods and human beings to secure a reliable basis for judging the actions of men, particularly of Aeneas, from a moral point of view (cf. above p. 128f, p. 204n. 71, p. 147). The most difficult concepts in this respect are 'anger' *(ira)* on the one hand, and 'rage' or 'to rage' *(furor, furere)* on the other. In order to avoid unfounded presuppositions we must inquire what Virgil's own view of these emotions was among the views held by his contemporaries.

'Anger' was one of the most controversial subjects in the discussions on moral conduct in the first century B.C. Before turning to Virgil's own attitude, let us briefly see what views were held during his time.

Orthodox Stoics subsumed 'anger' under one of the four main affects, namely under 'desire', describing it as 'a desire for vengeance on someone who seems to have done wrong not fittingly.[1] For the orthodox Stoic, anger is therefore a passion and as such must be suppressed without question.

Cicero mentions 'anger' in addition to the other four affects *(uacadum autem omni est animi perturbatione, cum cupiditate et metu, tum etiam aegritudine et uoluptate nimia*[2] *et iracundia, De Offic,* 1.20.69). But his attitude to it is as decisively negative as it is to the other passions: it must be rejected in all things; and, in particular, it should have no part in punishment, because an angry man cannot punish with moderation (1.25.89).[3] In this context Cicero turns briefly against the Peripatetics, the followers of Aristotle, because they praise anger and maintain that 'it was given us by nature in view of its usefulness *(utiliter a natura datam).*[4]

This Peripatetic view is rejected again by Cicero in the *Tusculan Disputations* (4.43),[5] where it is also stated more fully. The Peripatetics maintain that anger is natural and a gift of nature for the sake of its usefulness. It is amply praised as a 'whetstone of courage' *(cotem fortitudinis).* Mere reasoning about the rightness of a battle is a slight thing in comparison with the force that results from courage being fired by anger (. . . *uim, nisi ira excanduit fortitudo),* and this holds not only for men in battle, but also for other commands. Even the orator must simulate anger, if he does not feel it. 'Finally,' says Cicero, 'they maintain that he who does not know how to be angry is not a man, and what we call gentleness *(lenitatem)* they call by the derogatory name of sluggishness *(lentitudo).*'

In the *Aeneid, ira* is conceived as a necessary concomitant of or incentive to fighting in battle. Anger, together with Fear and Craftiness, are the companions of the war god Mars (12.336). When Turnus attacks the Trojan camp in Aeneas' absence, the Trojans, as commanded by Aeneas, keep within their walls, 'even though shame and anger tell them to enter battle' (9.44). Here, *pudor* is the warrior's embarrassment and shame at not being able to accept the challenge of an attack; and *ira* is the anger which makes him want to rush out and fight. Both are appreciated positively as a warrior's attitude. Confronted with a mountain boar on the defensive, with which Mezentius is compared, 'no one has the courage to be angry and to go closer' (*nec cuiquam irasci propiusque accedere uirtus,* 10.712). 'Manliness' or 'courage' is the precondition for approaching this boar at bay, and 'having the courage to be angry' means 'having the courage to take on the mighty beast, to enter battle with it'. The close connection of 'anger' with *uirtus* shows its positive valuation. Similarly, 'anger' and 'courage' are alternative forces in a lion in retreat (an image for Turnus) which prevent him from turning to flight (9.795).[6] Once, *ira* seems to be practically synonymous with 'fighting': the battle is hard and evenly balanced, 'and the gods in the house of Jupiter watch with pity the ineffective anger (or 'fighting') of both parties' (10.758). Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 4.50) reproaches the Peripatetics with a similar identification when he rhetorically asks: 'What? You believe that Hercules, whom that very courage, that you want to be "anger", raised up to heaven, battled in anger with the Erymanthian boar and the Nemean lion?' When Hercules, as described by Virgil, discovers that Cacus has stolen his cows and hidden them in a cave, 'his indignation flared up with the fury of black gall' (*furiisexarserat atro felle dolor,* 8.219ff). Cacus escapes and shuts himself up in his mountain cave. Hercules follows 'raging in his heart' (*furens animis,* 228), and frustrated seeks access 'grinding his teeth'. 'Three times, seething with anger (*feruidus ira,* 230) he searches all over the Aventine mountain.' Virgil here employs the full register of expressions for a towering rage *(furiae, exardere, dolor, furere, feruidus ira)* to draw the picture of Hercules pursuing to the death the monster Cacus who has wronged him. Hercules is semi-divine, celebrated and glorified in this book, raised up as an example for Aeneas and set in relation to Augustus. The mind of Cacus is 'fierce with madness' (*at furiis Caci mens effera,* 205), and he will 'not leave anything that is criminal or deceitful undared or unattempted' (205f). It is plain that the fierce anger of Hercules is fully approved of by Virgil, because he has justice on his side (cf. also 9.736).

Like Cacus, the cruel Etruscan Mezentius is an object of justified anger. Euander, explaining the situation in Etruria to Aeneas, describes the savage and tyrannous rule of Mezentius, how his own people drove him out and the whole of Etruria rose up 'in just fury' (*furiis . . . iustis,* 8.494), and how the prophet addressed the Etruscan warriors as men 'whom just indignation *(iustus . . . dolor)* drives against the enemy and whom Mezentius fires with an anger which he deserves' (*merita . . . ira,* 501). The same attitude appears later when those 'to whom Mezentius is an object of just anger' (10.716) meet him in battle. On the other hand, Aeneas' anger driving him to take vengeance on Helen is plainly wrong. Venus appearing to him in divine form says: 'My son, what mighty indignation is arousing in you uncontrolled anger? Why are you raging. . . ?' (2.594ff). But she does not go on to censure him because anger as such is wrong, but because he is wrong in his judgement of the situation. Not Helen or Paris are the cause of Troy's downfall, but the mercilessness of the gods. Therefore, Aeneas' anger against Helen is unjustified. In this situation, what matters is care for his own family. Once Aeneas has been convinced about the true cause of Troy's fall by the vision shown him by Venus he turns to seek his father, son, and wife.

To sum up, this material makes it plain that, in the *Aeneid,* 'anger' is, on the one hand, inherent in fighting and battle, and on the other hand, its moral evaluation depends on the specific situation in which it occurs. It is not in itself good or bad.

The same ambivalence holds for the anger of the gods. *Ira deorum* (or *deum*) is mentioned as the source of calamity for men whether in general or for particular persons.[7] It is disastrous, but morally neutral. But Juno's anger is always evil, because from the outset it runs counter to fate (1.18ff). Jupiter is never angry himself, but anger is mingled into the constitution of his lightning bolt (8.432), and he uses it to punish impious insolence (cf. 6.592ff).

Through the ancient etymology of *Dira* as derived from *deum ira*, Jupiter's sending of the Dira against Turnus in Book 12 belongs to this context.[8]

It appears then that Virgil's views on anger are Aristotelian or perhaps Platonic rather than Stoic, that to him anger played a positive part in the fighting of warriors and in a man's indignation about wrong done.

This means that whenever 'anger' is described in the *Aeneid*, its moral quality must be judged according to the reasons for it and according to the whole situation in which it arises.

The same problem of ethical valuation arises concerning *furor* and its cognates. Because Otis and other scholars habitually oppose *pietas* and *furor* in their interpretation of the *Aeneid*, we tend to assume, without question, that *furor* and its cognates, particularly the verb *furere*, are as blameworthy and evil as *pietas* is praiseworthy and good. On detailed examination, this is true, for the most part, of the noun *furor*, although *furor* also denotes the ecstasy of the Sibyl through which divine truth is mediated. But the verb *furere* is more complex.

The verb expresses a tremendous intensity of emotion, often accompanied by quick movements.[9] Its range of application is wide. Outside the human sphere, it refers to the forces of nature in an uproar, such as the winds (1.51, 2.304, 5.694, 10.37), fire (2.759, 4.670, 5.662), and water whether in a cauldron, the sea, or a river (7.464, 1.107, 2.498). Among animals, a wild beast may rage when at bay (9.552) or horses charge or rear in a frenzy when in battle or wounded (11.609, 12.332; 11.638). In the human sphere, *furere* may be said of overwhelming emotion and grief (3.313, 12.607), of the raving madness of the Sibyl or Cassandra (6.100, 262; 2.345), but most frequently it is used of Dido's love and of the frenzy of fighting. Dido's love-frenzy is always morally negative, because it acts against fate and Jupiter's will, while the Sibyl's frenzy is caused by Apollo and although terrifying and violent it serves a good end, namely, the truth. *Furere* as the frenzy of fighting is important for our problem. If there are any passages in which *furere* is positively valued in its context, this means that the appearance of this word in any context does not in itself denote something to be condemned. In 8.228, Virgil says of Hercules: 'Behold, raging with wrath *(furens animis)* the Tirynthian was present.' The fight of Hercules with Cacus was, of course, one of the exemplary battles of a great hero against evil,[10] and Hercules rages in the zest of his rightful warrior's anger. Penthesilea pictured on Juno's temple (1.491) is described as *furens mediisque militibus ardet,* where Austin[11] remarks that 'Quintus Smyrnaeus constantly stresses Penthesilea's zest for battle, with many varied epithets.' Austin also compares Camilla, who is twice called *furens* in the same sense (11.709, 762). Once it is clear that the frenzy of a fighter expressed by *furere* can be judged appreciatively, it is possible to realize that 'hard hectic fighting' can be called *furere* without any particular moral judgement being involved. For instance, when Camilla has been killed the battle becomes fiercer and Opis sees Camilla 'in the midst of the shouting of the fiercely fighting men' (*medio iuuenum in clamore furentum* 11.838). Here, *furens* means no more than 'fighting fiercely' When, therefore, Virgil says of Euryalus *incensus et ipse perfurit* (9.342f), this in itself denotes 'fierce fighting' and is quite factual, implying no judgement. It seems even possible that the phrase here is appreciative, as in the case of Hercules, and could be translated by 'he fought with great zest.'[12]

APPENDIX B

The Nisus and Euryalus Episode in the Aeneid (9.176ff)

The interpretation of this episode is extremely problematic. It has been called 'a dramatic episode of friendship' by Pease,[1] and Cartault says that 'the episode of Nisus and Euryalus is not only the glorification of heroism, but also of friendship.'[2] More recently, it is usually taken to be an instance of *furor* which runs into deserved punishment. The praise which Virgil accords to the two fighters (446ff), if noticed, is then taken to be ironical.[3] This is inevitable if the episode is interpreted as an instance of evil *furor* and of the disastrous consequences which must follow on such *furor*.

But to take Virgil's words of praise for Nisus and Euryalus as ironical, that is, as not really and seriously intended, seems to me quite impossible. Virgil says:

'Ah, fortunate pair! If my poetry has any influence,
Time in its passing shall never obliterate your memory,
As long as the house of Aeneas dwell by the Capitol's moveless
Rock, and the head of the Roman family keeps his power.'
(446ff)

The very ancient and indeed Homeric idea which underlies this passage is that a poet by his song can give fame and even immortality to a dead man. What Virgil prophesies here is that through describing the deeds of the two young men in his epic he will preserve their memory for as long as the Julian house or even Rome herself and the Roman *patria potestas* remain. The references to the power of poetry, to Augustus, the Capitol, and to the *pater Romanus* are so weighty and so serious that irony is out of the question. Virgil's praise cannot but be genuine. The unavoidable consequence is that whatever Nisus and Euryalus did must, in Virgil's eyes, be honourable and great so as to deserve his praise.

A comparison of the episode of Nisus and Euryalus with the *Doloneia* (Book 10) of the *Iliad* which is its Homeric model immediately reveals the difference in values and Virgil's primarily moral perspective.

Diomedes and Odysseus set out in order to find out whether the Trojans are going to stay near the ships or whether they will return to the city (209f). They are promised fame by Nestor and an ample gift of sheep. In setting out, both heroes pray to Athene for protection, and Odysseus also prays that they may 'achieve a great work, which will bring care upon the Trojans' (282). When Dolon, who is sent out by Hector for information about the Achaeans, is chased and caught by them, they force him to tell them what is happening in the Trojan camp and the positions of the various tribes. Then Diomedes kills him. The task which they had undertaken on behalf of the Acheans is completed. Apart from one man Dolon, there has been no killing of enemies.

But Diomedes and Odysseus move forward against the sleeping Thracians, because they want to seize the wonderful horses of the Thracian king Rhesus. Diomedes kills twelve men and the king himself, and Odysseus drags the bodies away in order to make a path for the horses (491ff). While Odysseus seizes the horses ready to drive away, Diomedes still wonders whether to take also the chariot or to slay more Thracians. But Athene warns him that it is time to leave. On the way they pick up the helmet and other weapons taken from Dolon and return safely to the Achaean camp. Let us note here that when the killing of the Thracians for the purpose of seizing the horses is done, and even though Odysseus has whistled to Diomedes to move off, an extension of the looting and of killing is still envisaged by Diomedes, but he is stopped by Athene warning him of danger. The Homeric episode of the *Doloneia* is shaped in three parts:

1. Preparations for the expedition.
2. The encounter with Dolon who is chased, caught, and killed.
3. Slaughter of sleeping Thracians and the capture of Rhesus' horses.

The episode in *Aeneid* 9 is correspondingly shaped, but with different sequence of the parts and different connections:

1. Preparations for the expedition.
2. Slaughter of the sleeping enemy to make a path for travelling to Aeneas.
3. Being chased, caught, and killed by the Rutulians.

In the Homeric episode, the slaughter of the Thracians and capture of the horses is not part of the mission of the two Greek heroes, which is accomplished by the end of the second part. It is an addition, though carefully prepared for in the preceding part. The connection is based on the high value placed by Homeric heroes on excellent horses. Before Dolon—who is anything but cunning, in fact, very naive—sets out on his spying expedition he begs as the prize for his exploit for the divine horses of Achilles. Hector promises fulfilment of this wish when the times comes. But who believes that this will happen?! When Dolon explains the arrangement of the Trojan troops to Diomedes and Odysseus, he describes the horses of the Thracian Rhesus in glowing terms. In consequence, Diomedes and Odysseus slay Rhesus and a number of his men and capture his horses. The glory of the Homeric heroes consists in undertaking the spying expedition on behalf of their own people successfully, and in gaining possession of wonderful horses by the daring slaughter of their master and his men. The latter half of the exploit is on their own behalf.

Let us now turn to the Virgilian episode.

Part 1

Nisus and young Euryalus are standing guard at one of the gates of the Trojan camp which is besieged by Turnus (9.176ff). As Nisus says (192f), everybody wants Aeneas to be called back and the news of the siege to be taken to him. Nisus believes that he can see a way through the Rutulian lines where the watch-fires are sparse and where he could pass through to go to Pallanteum, city of Euander, where Aenas is known to be. What drives him is a burning passion (*ardorem* 184) to do something great (186; cf. *Iliad* 10.282 of which the Latin is a translation). Whether the gods have caused this or whether each man's 'fierce desire' (*dira cupido* 185) becomes a god, i.e. determines his actions, he cannot tell. As a matter of fact, this is one of the few and perhaps even the only episode in the *Aeneid* which is completely free of the influence of any divine being whatsoever.[4] This means that the action rests wholly on the characters. What Nisus desires is plainly 'fame' and nothing more. For he says that the fame of his action is enough for him (194f), although he also mentions spoils in the assembly (242). He is not greedy either for booty or for a tangible reward, and he does not, as a matter of fact, take any spoils when Euryalus does (357ff). Euryalus, who is 'filled with a great love of praise' (197), who despises the light of life and is ready to pay for honour with his life, in the end persuades Nisus to take him with him. The two arrive at a council meeting of the Trojan leaders at the very moment when a messenger is needed to go to Aeneas. When Nisus explains his plan, both Aletes, a venerable and ripe old man, and young Ascanius are overjoyed. Ascanius takes Euryalus, his own age-mate, to his heart. Whether in peace or in war he will share all glory (*gloria* 278) with him. Let us note here that among these young warriors honour and glory is the greatest thing in life.[5] But while this is strongly emphasized here, the love of fame must not be taken to be merely a good youthful desire. Fame or glory is important to all. Anchises, for instance, will tell Aeneas of the 'glory which follows henceforth the descendants of Dardanus' (6.756f), and by explaining everything to Aeneas 'he kindles his heart with love for the fame to come' (6.889). The proposed undertaking of Nisus and Euryalus is, then, not only approved, but admired by the Trojan leaders.

Part 2

As the two go on their way, they find their passage blocked by Rutulians lying stretched out on the grass sleeping off their wine with no one to keep watch. At this point, Nisus says to his companion:

'Euryalus, we must risk it. Now is our opportunity.
Here lies our route. You must guard me and keep a look-out all behind us,
On the alert for any who tries to attack from the rear.
I'm going to make havoc here, and hack a broad path for your feet.' (9.320ff)

The purpose of the subsequent slaughter is, then, for Nisus to make a path through the ranks of the sleeping enemy and for Euryalus to guard the rear. How necessary the slaughter wrought by Euryalus is becomes plain from the fact that his last victim had been awake and was fearfully watching him. He would have given the alarm, if he had had the chance.

The assumption is made by many scholars that this slaughter of the enemy described in lines 324–350 is an action of mere bloodlust and—apart from Rhoetus perhaps—quite unnecessary, the assumption being that the two warriors could have picked their way silently through the sleeping men.[6] But this is pure speculation in view of Nisus' words at the beginning and at the end of the slaughter. At the beginning he says (320), in a literal translation: 'Euryalus, we must be daring with our right hand' *(audendum dextra),* that is, 'we must boldly kill'. Then he gives the reason: 'Now the opportunity itself calls us' *(nunc ipsa uocat res). Res,* is, of course, the matter-of-fact of the situation. At the end of the slaughter, Nisus says (356): 'A road has been made through the enemy' *(uia facta per hostes).* If it were to be argued that these are the words of Nisus who acts from mere bloodlust but *pretends* to be justified, there is nothing in Virgil's text to indicate such dishonesty on Nisus' part. Making a path by slaughter of the sleeping enemy is then, in Virgil's tale, part of the mission of the two Trojans, while in Homer it is part of the exploit of the two Achaeans of capturing the famous horses for themselves. While the death of Dolon was perhaps necessary, the attack on the Thracians is in no way connected with the spying mission of Diomedes and Odysseus. The driving motive for this is the desire to possess the famous horses and to win the glory of having 'done a great deed of a care to the Trojans' 281f), that is, of having killed many Trojan allies. The slaughter wrought by Nisus and Euryalus is part and parcel of the task to reach Aeneas: they must cut a path through the ranks of the sleeping enemy. In addition, slaughtering the enemy means fame for the slayer if he slays in a just cause. I have previously shown that Virgil represents the war of the Trojans against the Latins and Rutulians as just;[7] and the mission of Nisus and Euryalus to inform Aeneas of the danger of his camp is part of this war. This is also why Nisus is justified in speaking of the slaughter as a punishment of the enemy: *poenarum exhaustum satis est* (356).

When Nisus is compared with a hungry lion invading a sheepfold (339ff), and when Virgil says of Euryalus, *incensus et ipse perfurit* (342f),[8] that is a description of their fierce warriordom which, serving a good purpose, is not evil, but on the contrary glorious and deserving of fame.

As soon, however, as Euryalus (like Diomedes) is on the point of extending the massacre, Nisus (like Athene) calls him back, 'aware that his friend was being carried too far by bloodlust' (*sensit enim nimia caede atque cupidine ferri* 354). On the phrase *nimia caede ferri* Servius comments: *deest illum*, meaning, as Lewis's translation does, that Nisus thinks of Euyalus, and not himself as well, as being carried away by bloodlust. This means that Nisus did not succumb to bloodlust, nor was Euryalus allowed to by his older and wiser friend.

Quinn's statement[9] that Nisus 'realizes the danger of forgetting their mission if they let themselves be carried away by the twin passions of murder and loot' implies that Nisus himself was involved in this excess. But Virgil gives no indication that he is altering the exact parallelism of action between Odysseus and Athene calling Diomedes back from an extension of the attack and Nisus calling back Euryalus. The phrase *caede atque cupidine* is a *hendiadys* and means the same as the phrase *caedis cupido* used of Turnus in line 760, as Conington[10] points out who rejects *cupido* as 'desire of plunder'. Both Quinn and Mackail[11] take it to refer to 'loot'. But *cupido,* as a matter of fact, is never used for 'greed' by Virgil. Furthermore, *caedes* does not mean 'murder' here; in war, it means 'slaughter'. It might be regrettable (e.g. 8.537), but it can still be just and a source of fame for the slayer.

Part 3

At this point, Nisus and Euryalus become the hunted, like Dolon. A troup of three hundred Rutulians (cf. 428) under Volcens approach on the way to Turnus. They catch sight of the gleaming helmet of Euryalus and pursue the Trojans who flee into the forest.[12] Nisus escapes into safety. But Euryalus loses his way in the forest, in part because his booty is a burden to him (384). When Nisus realizes the absence of his friend (*amicum* is placed emphatically at the end of the line 389), he re-enters the dangerous forest and soon sees Euryalus beset by the enemy. In two questions he expresses the two possibilities that are before him: By what sort of attack could he extricate the young man? Should he run into the midst and die with him? (399ff). The two possibilities are, in fact, both realized, one after the other. In his prayer to the Moon goddess he hopes to throw the enemy troop into confusion (409). The hope implied is that this would give Euryalus the chance to escape. Without betraying his position Nisus succeeds in killing both Sulmo and Tagus with his spears. But Volcens, leader of the troop, still unable to locate the source of the spears, does not flee but turns on Euryalus to exact vengeance for the death of his two companions. Nisus makes one last frantic attempt to save Euryalus. Betraying himself, he shouts, offering his life in Euryalus' stead and taking all guilt upon himself. But Volcens kills Euryalus. The line of action which consists in trying to save Euryalus is eliminated.

Then the second possibility becomes reality. Nisus rushes among the Rutulians seeking only Volcens, the killer of Euryalus, in order to avenge his friend's death. He kills Volcens and dies over his dead friend. Quinn[13] calls his attack and death 'a useless gesture of self-immolation and destruction'. But he has done the great deed which he longed to do, 'discontent with a peaceful calm' (*mens agitat mihi nec placida contenta quiete est* 187). Now he is 'calmed in a peaceful death' (*placidaque ibi demum morte quieuit* 445). He is at peace, because he has avenged his friend. When Virgil calls the love of Nisus for Euryalus *pius* (5.296) he means it: Nisus is loyal to the bitter end.

The fact that Nisus turns back to save his friend, if he can, and does *not* go on to take his message to Aeneas is held against him by modern scholars. Duckworth[14] says: 'Nisus could have done the right thing and carried out his mission, but his first thoughts were of Euryalus and he sacrificed himself for his friend.' Otis speaks of the death of Nisus as 'a *Liebestod* marked by utter forgetfulness of his resolve and his manifest duty to deliver the message', and he calls his affection for Euryalus a 'desperate *eros*, an *eros* that destroys itself'.[15] But later he says:[16] 'It seems plain that the episode is essentially paradigmatic, a Trojan *exemplum uirtutis* designed to balance or be balanced by the Latin *exemplum uirtutis* (Camilla) of *Aeneid* 11. Nisus and Euryalus are not clear-cut characters in their own right so much as types of youthful devotion and sacrifice.' Otis is clearly torn between two views of the episode. The same happens to Heinze. But he is more aware of the problem. Having described the foot race in Book 5, he says that Nisus and Euryalus 'reappear in Book 9 where they prove their friendship in a bold and dangerous undertaking and by dying together.'[17] But later he says:[18] 'They did wrong, since both allowed themselves to be carried away so as to place other desires before their immediate duty; but their wrong-doing arose from noble instincts, and they atoned for it by death.' While in the text of his book Heinze sees both as splendid in their friendship and wrong in their failure to fulfil their duty, in a footnote on the second passage Heinze expresses doubts concerning the judgement of a failure in duty. He says:[19] 'I am, however, doubtful whether Virgil and his audience would have felt the wrong done by Nisus—which consists in not continuing on his road after the death of Euryalus and so not fulfilling his mission—as a neglect of his duty, as we do—though perhaps only after some thought. To be carried away blindly by passion is more natural to the southerner than to us . . . [example from Schiller]. . . . A Nisus who would see his friend die from the security of his hiding place and then, too sensible to take on the futile battle with a superior enemy would go on his way to fulfil his duty—such a Nisus would have been thought cold and lacking in love.' This I believe is true. Moreover, the point at which Nisus was swept off his guard by terror on behalf of his friend is when Volcens raised his sword against him and Nisus shouted in order to divert the blow on to his head: there was still a shred of hope. When Euryalus had been killed, escape for Nisus was barely possible, and what is more it was his duty to avenge his friend's death.

There is in Virgil's text no hint of a condemnation of Nisus for neglecting his duty. The only derogatory statement that occurs is that he escaped from the enemy and the forest 'without foresight' (*imprudens* 9.386), that is, without taking care that Euryalus was following him. This lack of foresight corresponds to his slipping in the mud in the foot race of Book 5, and here, as in Book 5, provides the occasion for proving his friendship for Euryalus.

I have argued that the actions of Nisus cannot be judged wrong in any way. The younger man's character is much less mature. But for Nisus restraining him he would have been swept away by bloodlust (354). He does take some booty, not much in comparison with what is left behind, a fact that is stated explicitly in two whole lines (357f). But although it is not excessive nor like Pallas' belt an ill omen in itself, it becomes disastrous, because the glint of the helmet betrays him (373), and the booty becomes a burden in the flight through the forest (384). Euryalus also becomes afraid and so loses his direction in the forest (385). This is the picture of a very young warrior burning to prove his valour and win glory, but also open to lust for blood, desire for treasure, and confusion arising from fear. He clearly needs the firm guidance of an older friend like Nisus whom he loves. As soon as Nisus, in a moment of imprudence, leaves him, he is lost.

Since, then, the content of the episode is no *furor* deservedly punished, what is it? 'Heroism and friendship' was Cartault's answer. My interpretation of the crucial points in the action would seem to confirm this. It is made explicit by Virgil himself in the first sentence in which he describes the two friends together, that is, if it is rightly understood. The sentence is (9.182): *his amor unus erat pariterque in bella ruebant.* Lewis translates: 'These two were one in love; they would charge into battle together.' The meaning is stated explicitly by Page: '*unus amor*, a common love, a love for each other which was one and the same in both.'[20] Page finds this meaning 'so natural and obvious' that he rejects the meaning proposed by Henry, namely 'a common love for combat', explained by the words which follow 'and side by side they used to rush into war'. Servius comments on *amor unus erat: id est eodem studio flagrabant* and on *pariterque in bella ruebant* by *aut simul, aut similiter et pari uirtute, id est aeque fortes erant.*[21] The best parallel for the line under discussion is 12.282 where the renewal of battle after the breaking of the treaty is described: *sic omnes amor unus habet decernere ferro,* translated by Lewis as 'All are devoured by one passion, to fight it out with the sword.' The first part of this line, *sic omnes amor unus habet* corresponds *to his amor unus erat* and surely means the same. In the first case, the object of this common love is expressed in an infinitive *decernere ferro,* in the second case, by another sentence added in explanation *pariterque ruebant in bella.* Exactly the same variation of construction is found in another passage. In 2.309 *tum uero manifesta fides Danaumque patescunt insidiae* means 'The truth of the matter became clear (Austin's tr.) and the deceit of the Greeks was plain.' Here, according to Austin, 'the appended explanation *Danaumque patescunt insidiae* takes the place of an accusative and infinitive construction' as in 3.374f: '*Nate dea, nam te maioribus ire per altum auspiciis manifesta fides.* To return to the first line of our episode, two things are expressed here: these two young men loved fighting in battle; they were in fact, true warriors—and they had this love for battle in common. The meaning of this appears plainly both in Sallust and Cicero. Cicero in *De Amicitia* speaks of friendship as *uoluntatum studiorum sententiarum summa consensio*[22] and he concludes this work by saying that *uirtus* both brings about and preserves friendships *(uirtus, uirtus, inquam, . . . et conciliat amicitias et conseruat.)*[23] But the *uirtus* of a fighter is, of course, his warriordom. When, therefore, Virgil speaks of the common love of battle in Nisus and Euryalus the line is programmatic and expresses both the heroic nature and the friendship of the two men.[24]

If this interpretation of our episode is true, then the function of the story of Nisus and Euryalus in the context of the *Aeneid* as a whole changes. It does not, as Duckworth believes, being a tale of *furor* and its punishment, foreshadow the lot of Turnus, but it points, as Otis suggests,[25] forward to the friendship between Aeneas and Pallas, to the grief of Aeneas at the death of Pallas and the vengeance he exacts in killing Turnus. Thus it underscores the value of friendship, which plays such an important part in Aeneas' actions in relation to Turnus on behalf of Pallas. In these actions, Aeneas is, as I have argued, both free and completely obedient to Jupiter. Consequently the friendship of Nisus and Euryalus which foreshadows the actions of Aeneas is also in harmony with Jupiter's judgement. This is however left implicit, because it is on the *human* values that the emphasis in this foreshadowing episode is laid.

Notes to Introduction

1. Boyancé, 'Sens Cosmique', *passim.*
2. Virgil, *Georg.* 2.475ff.
3. Virgil, *Aen.* 1.740ff.
4. Cicero uses the expression *mundi cohaerentia* in *Nat. Deor.* 2.62.155 in connection with the courses of the sun, moon, and stars.
5. Friedrich Schiller, 'Die Götter Griechenlands', c.1788.

Notes to Part I, Chapter I

1. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 41, n.2.
2. Otis, *Virgil,* Ch. II on 'The Obsolescence of Epic'.
3. Otis, 'Originality', 28ff.
4. Otis, 'Originality', 59.
5. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 40ff.
6. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 288ff.
7. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 299.
8. Plato, *Rep.,* 10. 606e, *Protag.* 339a; cf. on all this, Marrou, *Education,* 9ff.
9. Schadewaldt, *Homers Welt,* 83ff.
10. On the following cf. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry,* 144.
11. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry,* 145 and pl. IV; and Petersen, *Personification,* 63ff.
12. Cf. below, p. 8f; *Pistis* is more difficult: either 'credibility or 'loyalty', see Webster and Petersen.
13. Cf. Marrou, *Education,* 251 and n. 2; 422, n. 20.
14. Grimal, *Siècle,* 29 and 35; I owe this reference to Professor H. A. Murray of Victoria University, Wellington.
15. Horace, *Epist.* II, 1.70ff; Sueton, *Gram.,* No. 9.
16. Cf. Horace, note 15.
17. Finley, *World of Odysseus,* 84.
18. Thornton, *Odyssey,* 119.
19. Homer, *Iliad,* 14.85ff.
20. Jaeger, Paideia, 3ff, Finley, *World of Odysseus,* 125, Adkins, *Merit,* 34f.

21. Finley, *World of Odysseus,* 129.
22. Homer, *Odyssey,* 24.508f.
23. Dodds, *The Greeks,* 17ff.
24. The use of guile, however, does not go uncriticized even in Homer. Achilles says to Odysseus that the man 'who hides one thing in his breast and says another is hateful to him like the gates of Hades' (9.312f).
25. Plautus, *Trinummus,* 642ff; quoted and translated by Earl, *Political Tradition,* 26.
26. CIL I^2, 15; Earl, *Political Tradition,* 27; Ernout, *Recueil,* no. 18.
27. Cf. on all this Marrou, *Education,* 235.
28. Marrou, *Education,* 232f.
29. Thornton, *Odyssey,* 71f; when Marrou says (235) that the examples of virtue placed before the young Roman 'were taken from the nation's history, not from heroic poetry', he surely omits the fact that the young Roman was also steeped in Homer.
30. Plutarch, *Life of Aemilius Paulus,* ch. 31, based on Livy, 45.37–39.
31. Earl, *Political Tradition,* 22; e.g. Homer, *Iliad,* 2.202
32. Ernout, *Recueil,* 13 believes that *fortis uir sapiensque* is a translation of that ideal, not rightly I think.
33. Büchner, 'Virtus', 380.
34. Publilius Syrus 266; quoted by Büchner, 380.
35. Cf. Ogilvie, *Gods,* 20 and *passim.*
36. Cf. Büchner, 'Virtus', 378; the Homeric hero closest to the Romans is perhaps Aias.
37. Cf. Earl, *Political Tradition,* 58.
38. Strabo, *Geography* 1, Ch.7, Par. 10.
39. Strabo, Ch.18, Par. 7; also Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura,* 4.8ff.
40. Strabo, Ch. 19, Par. 8.
41. Horace, *Epist.,* 1, 2.3–4.
42. Suetonius, *Gram.* 16, 2, quoted by Marrou, *Education,* 252.
43. Williams, G., *Tradition,* 619ff.
44. Williams, G., *Tradition,* 631.
45. Horace, *Carm.* 3.24.
46. Williams, G., 'Poetry', 29ff.
47. Williams, G., *Tradition,* 606.
48. Cf. above, p. 6.
49. Babut, 'L'Amour', 57ff, referring to SVF III, 611, 686 and particularly a fragment of Antipater of Tarsus, teacher of Panaetius, SVF III, 63.
50. Williams, G., *Tradition,* 608.
51. Horace, *Carm.* 4.4.33.

52. Horace, *Carm.* 3.1.4.
53. Horace, *Ars Poetica,* 344.
54. Horace, *Epist.* II, 1.124ff.
55. Quintilian I, 8.4; cf. Heinze, *Comm.* on Horace, note 54 above.
56. Horace, *Epist.* II, 1.128ff.
57. Suetonius, *Augustus,* 89.
58. Cf. Otis, *Virgil,* 40.
59. Williams, G., 'Poetry', 44f.
60. Virgil, *Aeneid,* 4.321ff.
61. Horace, *Carm.* 3.24.22f.
62. Heraclitus, *Quaestiones,* 100, Ch. 76.
63. Heraclitus, *Quaestiones,* 4, Ch. 3.
64. Heraclitus, *Quaestiones,* 100, Ch. 76.
65. Cornutus, *Compendium,* 76, Ch.35.
66. Cicero, *De Nat, Deor.* 2.72.
67. Boyancé, 'Théologie de Varron', 72ff, esp. 78ff.
68. Varro in Augustine, *C.D.* 7.5.
69. Dio Chrysostomus, *Discourse,* 12. Par. 59.
70. Cf. Petersen, *Personification,* 72.
71. Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* 2.72.
72. Varro, in Augustine, *C.D.* 6.9, referred to by Walsh, *Livy,* 48 and n. 5.
73. Strabo, quoted above, p. 8f; Strabo, however, believes that religious fear is a good thing.
74. Cornutus, quoted above, p. 13; cf. also Plutarch, *Isis,* 67 *(Moralia* 377f–8a; cf. 164e–171f *De Superstit.)* Quoted by De Ste. Croix, 'Religion', 68.
75. Lucretius 1. 62ff.
76. Xenophanes, Kirk and Raven, *Presocratics,* frg. 169.
77. Xenophanes, frg. 170.
78. Buffière, *Mythes d'Homère,* 45ff; Pépin, *Allégorie,* 85ff.
79. Heraclitus, *Quaestiones,* 6. Ch. 5.
80. Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokratiker,* I. No. 8.2 Theagenes may not have been the first to use this sort of allegorizing, cf. Delatte, *Littérature Pythagoricienne,* 115; cf. Detienne, *Homère,* 65ff, cf. Buffière, *Mythes D'Homère,* 101ff; cf. Wehrli, *Allegorische Deutung,* 88ff; cf. Pépin, *Allégorie,* 97ff; cf. Tate, *'Allegorism',* 105.
81. Plato, *Rep.* 378d; cf. Buffière. *Mythes D'Homère,* 124.
82. Homer, *Iliad,* 8.19ff.
83. Plato, *Theaetetus* 153c and d.
84. Cf. also Plato, *Cratylus,* 402a and b; cf. Wehrli, *Allegorische Deutung,* 72ff, on Socrates and allegory; Pépin, *Allégorie,* 113.
85. Callimachus, ed. Pfeiffer, frg. 114.
86. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry,* 157; his tr.

87. The interpretation is Pfeiffer's, see Webster, previous note; cf. also Pfeiffer, *Schriften*, 67ff.
88. Arnim *SVF* I, frg. 537; Pohlenz, *Stoa*, I, 109–10, II, 62–3; Festugière, *Révélation* II, 310ff.
89. *SVF* I, loc. cit. 1.28; the change to ἀργικέραυνε by Meineke is unnecessary and is not accepted by Festugière, *Révélation*, 321. Cf. also James, 'Zeus Hymns' 33. I owe this reference to my colleague, Professor I. M. Lonie.
90. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 836ff.
91. Hesiod, 881ff.
92. Dodds, *The Greeks*, 241: 'When in the Hymn of Cleanthes we find the Stoic god decked out with the epithets and attributes of Homer's Zeus, this is more, I think, than a stylistic formality—it is a serious attempt to fill the old forms with a new meaning.'
93. Boyancé, 'Sens Cosmique', 220ff.
94. Virgil, *Ecl.* 3.40ff.
95. Virgil, Ecl. 9.47ff.
96. Virgil, *Ecl.* 3.46.
97. Virgil, *Ecl.* 5.
98. Virgil, *Georg.* 2.319ff.
99. Virgil, *Georg.* 4.219ff.
100. Virgil, *Georg.* 1.467.
101. Boyancé, 'Sens Cosmique', 243.
102. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 7.107ff.
103. Boyancé, 'Sens Cosmique', 244.
104. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.519 *conscia fati sidera;* 10.176 *interpres Asilas, cui pecudum fibrae, caeli cui sidera parent;* 3.360 *interpres diuum . . . qui sidera sentis.*
105. *Boyancé, 'Sens Cosmique'*, 246.

Notes to Part I Chapter II

1. Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.24; cf. Perret, 'Polythéisme', 799; Boyancé, *Religion*, 32f.
2. Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.6.
3. Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.23, reading *ea quoque facere deos.*
4. Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.23; cf. Boyancé, 'Théologie de Varron', 79; cf. the Stoic *pneuma* in Sambursky, *Physics*, 1–48.
5. *deus unus et omnes*, Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.9.
6. *mundus enim unus, et in eo uno omnia sunt.*
7. *animam mundi ac partes eius esse deos ueros*, Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.5.
8. Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.6; tr. by W. M. Green (Loeb).
9. Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.28.
10. Boyancé, 'Théologie de Varron', 78, n.2.

11. For in the first century A.D. Heraclitus, *Quaestiones*, 29–30, Ch.19, identifies Athene with 'wisdom' and 'intelligence'. He refers to the myth of her birth from Zeus' head, the head being specifically the 'mother of thought'. Cornutus, *Compendium*, 35, calls Athene the 'intelligence' and 'providence' of Zeus, also connecting this with an allegory of her birth from Zeus' head. Here, Jupiter's daughter Minerva (Athene), and Jupiter himself together are the ether, that is, 'mind with intelligence'.
12. On the part of the Stoic Chrysippus, Cicero, *Nat. Deor.*, 1.40.
13. Cicero, *De Div.*, 1.11.17ff; cf. Boyancé, *Religion*, 29; cf. also Cicero, *Nat. Deor.*, 2.65 and Pease, *Comm. ad loc.*
14. Cicero, *Nat. Deor.*, 3.64.
15. Cicero, *Nat. Deor.*, 2.71.
16. Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.24.
17. Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.28.
18. Plutarch, *De Facie* 942F; Homer, *Od.*, 4.563; cf. also Plutarch, *De primo frigido*, 953B; also Pseudo-Aristotle, *About the Cosmos*, 392a 29, and Furley's note b, *ad loc.* (Loeb).
19. Cicero, *Nat. Deor.*, 2.66.
20. Cf. Pease, *Comm. on De Div.*, *ad loc;* also Guthrie, *Greek Philosophy*, II, 144–6; Sprague, 'Empedocles', 169.
21. Cornutus, *Compendium*, 3; cf. also Heraclitus, *Quaestiones*, 57f, where the identification of Zeus with ether and Hera with air is used to allegorize their marriage on Mt. Ida in *Il*, 14.346ff.
22. Cicero, *Acad. Post.*, 1.7.26.
23. Cf. Heinze, *Technik*, 299, on Juno.
24. Boyancé, 'Théologie de Varron', 63, n.2; cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, 1.27; Horace, *Carm.*, 3.2.21f; Pohlenz, *Stoa*, Vol.2, 140f; cf. Varro's view: *utile esse ciuitatibus dicit, ut se uiri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, diis genitos esse credant*, Augustine, *C.D.*, 3.4; Boyancé, 'Théologie de Varron', 64, n.2.
25. Augustine, *C.D.*, 7.13.
26. Arnobius, 3.41; cf. Ed. Fraenkel, *Horace*, 447, n.3.
27. Boyancé, *L'humanisme cicéronien*, 232.
28. Cicero, *De Div.*, 1.30.64., *quod plenus aër sit immortalium animorum, in quibus tamquam insignitae notae ueritatis appareant.*
29. Plutarch, *De Def. Or.*, 416 C (Loeb tr.).
30. Plutarch, *Isis*, 359 D–360A.
31. 360 E.
32. 360 E end; for more references cf. Perret, *Polythéisme*, 800f.
33. Plutarch, *De Def. Or.*, 417A.
34. Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 277A (Loeb tr.).

35. Cf. above p. 25 and Perret, above, n.32.
36. Plutarch, *De Stoic Repugn.,* 1051c.
37. Long, 'Evil', 330ff.
38. Plutarch, *Comm. Not.,* 1065b, *De Stoic. Repugn.,* 1050C., tr. by Long.
39. Long, 'Evil', 331.
40. Long, 'Evil', 333.
41. Cicero, *Somnium,* end.
42. Cicero, *Tusc., Disp.,* 1.12.27f, *humi.*
43. Cicero, *ibid.*
44. Cicero, *Somnium,* 3.5.
45. Cicero, *Somnium,* 3.7 *animus;* cf. Varro, *Lingua Lat.* V, 59, who referring to Epicharmus seems to think of the sun as the source; cf. Boyancé, *Songe de Scipion,* 133, n.2.
46. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.,* 1.19.43.
47. Cicero, *Nat. Deor.* 2.7.19; cf. also *De Div.,* 2.34.
48. Cicero, *De Div.,* 1.30.64 and see note by Pease on *plenus*... *animorum* for what follows; cf. *Steiner,* Traum, 100.
49. Quoted above n.28.
50. Cicero, *De Div.* 2.58.119.
51. For the power of divine spirits to bind together the universe cf. Plato, *Sympos.,* 202e; their power 'interprets and ferries across to the gods what comes from men and to men what comes from the gods, prayers and sacrifices on the one side, commands and recompense for sacrifices on the other. It is in the middle between the two, and fills it so completely that the whole itself is bound together with itself.' Cf. Dio Chrysostomus (late first century, A.D.) *Discourse,* 36.42ff, who describes the universe as a chariot drawn by four horses sacred to Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, and Hestia (cf. Pohlenz, *Stoa,* Vol. I, 80) Cf. also Plotinus, *Ennead* IV, 4.33 (third century A.D.), who compares the universe to a dancer dancing.
52. Quoted above, p. 21.
53. Cf. above, pp. 26f.
54. Cf. above, p. 28; cf. also Plato, *Laws* X, 904a–ff.
55. Furley, *About the Cosmos (Loeb),* 339ff.
56. *About the Cosmos,* 391 b 5, tr. Furley.
57. Cf. *Aeneid,* 6: Aeneas taught about the universe; Cicero, *Somnium:* Scipio.
58. Cf. Plutarch, above, p. 24 and n.18.
59. *About the Cosmos,* 395 a 29ff, comets and shooting stars are said to be in air.
60. *About the Cosmos,* 397 b 20ff.
61. Homer, *Il.,* 1.499.

62. Long, 'Evil', 332: 'Stoic *pneuma* is an attempt to give a causal explanation of all events by making them stages in the history of a single, rational, continuously changing substance.' I should add that 'events' as 'stages in the history of a single . . . substance' are a causal nexus in physics, while to the religious and poetic viewpoint they are the stages or 'phases' both in the being of the Cosmic God and in a mythico-historical tale about the universe. Long compares Sambursky, *Physics of the Stoics,* 1–48, which is of interest in relation to much in this chapter.
63. While this passage in Diodorus is in accord with the views of Posidonius (cf. Reinhardt, *R.E.*, col.656), the image is originally Platonic (cf. *Republic,* 10.617).
64. Suetonius, *Augustus,* Ch. 94 end.
65. Cf. Boll, Bezold, Gundel, *Sternglaube,* 26.

Notes to Part II

1. *Aen.* 6.724ff. His teaching on man's death and rebirth will be described later.
2. Cf. above, p. 21.
3. Cf. above, p. 28 and n.45.
4. Cf. above, pp. 21f, 32.
5. Differently Otis, *Virgil,* 301, who deprives these words of Anchises of any real significance when he says: 'The purpose of Anchises' philosophical disquisition is not in fact *religious* so much as patriotic and Roman. The solemn philosophy seems to be used only because it reflects the majesty of Rome as Homeric mythology could not. Nor does Virgil have any inkling of a philosophy in which concrete history, particularized temporal events, are in themselves the preliminaries of a religious eschaton.' The fourth *eclogue* surely shows at least such an inkling, if not much more. Furthermore, the combination of a religious philosophy of the cosmos, history, and patriotism is found already in Cicero's *Somnium.*
6. Cf. above, p.
7. Cf. Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* 2:101, *tum autem,* (scil. *aër*) *concretus in nubes cogitur.*
8. Williams, *Comm.* on Book 3, *ad loc.*
9. This makes it plain, by the way, that the dome of the sky is conceived as much lower than we should conceive it, quite apart from any knowledge of astronomy.
10. The fact that Virgil places thunderstorms, lightning, and clouds in the ether is censured by Servius (on 1.90) who says that 'in this passage he put *aether* instead of *aër,* for clouds from which lightning derives belong to *aër,* not to *aether,* and Virgil often mixes up these two.' *Caelum* is equated with

aër by Lucretius (4.133 and Pliny (*N.H.*, 2.38. 102f), who also describes it as a region of clouds and storms. Since Jupiter is the lord of lightning in the *Aeneid,* clouds and storms could not have been restricted to the *aër.*

11. *Aura* without *aetheria* in 3.339.
12. Interpretation of some difficult passages:
    7.768:
    (Hippolytum) . . . *ad sidera rursus aetheria et superas caeli uenisse sub auras* at first sight looks as if he was deified. But that these lines mean simply that he came back to life is clear from 771: *ab umbris mortalem infernis ad lumina surgere uitae.* Here the cosmos is seen in two halves: below the earth and above the earth correspond to death and life. The region of the ethereal stars and of the breezes of heaven which are above the earth mean the sphere of life. Cf. also 6.436.
    5.518ff:
    Here the phrases *in astris aetheriis* and *aërias in auras* each seem to be used for a particular point. The pigeon escaping into the open heaven is struck by Eurytion's arrow: 'it fell down dead, and left its life among the ethereal stars, and gliding down brought back the arrow fixed in it.' The bird's ethereal part, its life, stays where it belongs, in the ether. Possibly *aërias in auras* is said here, because 'flying in liquid clouds' the arrow bursts into flames, and flames, such as lightning for instance, are frequently connected with *aër* in its narrower sense. Cf. Servius above n.10 and Cicero, n.7.
13. Cf. Boyancé, 'Sens Cosmique', 240.
14. Cf. above, pp. 26ff, cf. Steiner, *Traum,* 100f, on a tentative connection between Allecto and the second type of dream spirits of Posidonius (Cicero, *De Div.*, I. 64).
15. According to Conington, on 7.324 the name Allecto occurs first together with Tisiphone and Megaera in the Orphic *Argonautica,* 966, where these three are names of Furies; cf. also Hübner, *Dirae* 38.
16. Cf. below, pp. 108ff.
17. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae,* 37.
18. Cf. v. Duhn, 'Gleichnisse in den Allektoszenen', 67, referred to by Hübner, *Dirae,* 41. 'Fire' or 'flame' is frequently an image of destructive passion or power, often, though not always, evil.
19. Cf. Williams, *Comm.* on Book 3.215; cf. Grassmann-Fischer, *Prodigien,* 42, and Hübner, *Dirae,* 64ff., for the characteristic features of a prodigy in the description of the Harpies.
20. Cf. Fauth, 'Funktion niederer Gottheiten', 59, cf. 2.337, cf. Hübner, *Dirae,* 34.

21. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae*, 65, on the idea of 'contagion' as something poisonous or impure.
22. Cf. below, pp. 92 and 107.
23. Cf. below, p. 113.
24. Cf. below, p. 127.
25. Cf. above, pp. 22 and 32.
26. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae*, 61ff.
27. Varro's theory of the 'vessel' denoting the spirit simplifies what in Otis' description is uneasily complicated, *Virgil*, 81f.
28. Hesiod, *Theogony*, 820ff; cf. Pease, *Comm. on Aen.* 4.173.
29. It is reinforced by the reference to Coeus, *Theogony*, 134.
30. Cf. also 8.298, and Buchheit, *Sendung*, 129 and 131.
31. 4.196 in Iarbas, 4.298f in Dido; in 7.392 she aids Allecto's work among the Latin women.
32. Cf. Bucheit, *Sendung*, 64f (N.B. 3.424 Scylla in a cave), on Cacus as representative of the evil underworld, 116ff.
33. Cf. Zeller, *Philosophie*, Vol. 3 Part 1,344, Cleanthes' allegories of Hercules' labours: lion, bull, hydra symbolize 'lust' or 'desire'.
34. Cf. below, pp. 94f.
35. Cf. 58f, 108, 110ff.
36. Conington and Austin *ad loc.* assume that it is implied that the command must come from Jupiter. Buchheit, *Sendung*, 66, shares this view believing that Aeolus can direct the winds only by the command of or in agreement with Jupiter which implies that no one else can interfere with them and that, when Juno does, she acts strictly in opposition to Jupiter's ordinance. If this interpretation were right, not Neptune, but Jupiter ought to have sent the winds packing. What is wrong is not that Juno orders Aeolus to raise a storm, but that this is a storm at sea raised without the consent of Neptune (*meo sine numine* 1.133), king of the sea (5.792) and for the purpose of destroying the Trojan fleet which is against fate and Jupiter's will.
37. When Austin, on 1.168 calls this last phrase a 'traditional decorative detail to stress the peace and charm of the Trojans' "refuge", referring to G. Williams, *Tradition*, 641, he turns Virgil's picture into an aesthetically beautiful, but inanimate landscape. That might be Hellenistic perhaps, it is certainly 'modern', but not Virgil.
38. Conington on 7.137; cf. 8.71.
39. Cf. above, pp. 20ff.

40. Cf. Servius on 9.100.
41. Austin, *ad loc.* comments: '*Numina* suggests the power and will of the gods added to their actual presence and visual shapes.'
42. 2.735, 4.521, 6.68, 12.182; cf. Pötscher, 'Numen'.
43. Pötscher, 'Numen', 373: 'das kraftvolle, relevante Wirken der Gottheit'.
44. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, 2.642, and Juv. 10.365 quoted by Conington.
45. Singular 10.31, 12.180; plural 7.297 and 310.
46. Pötscher, 'Numen', 373, n.89.
47. The Ms tradition wavers, as elsewhere, between *numen* and *nomen,* and the opinion of scholars is divided. Conington reads *nomen,* but says 'Admitting then that if the notion involved in 'numen' would be satisfactorily supported, the word would be appropriate and poetical.' It is, as Conington says the *lectio difficulior,* and the sentence 2.622f quoted above p. 45, is surely a satisfactory parallel.
48. Cf. Servius on 12.139, cf. Conington.
49. Varro, *De Lingua Latina.* 5.71.
50. Cf. Heinze, *Technik,* 245.
51. 8.64, *caeruleus Thybris, caelo gratissimus amnis;* even if the Tiber's normal colour is *flauus* (Conington), a river can always reflect the sky's colour; this surely must be the meaning of the position of *caeruleus* and *caelo* at the beginning of the two parts of the line.
52. Cf. Austin, *ad loc.*, for difficulties concerning the meaning of placidus.
53. Cf. Pöschl, *Dichtkunst,* 34ff.
54. Cf. above p. 25.
55. Heinze, *Technik,* 299.
56. Cf. Page, *ad loc.*
57. Servius on 7.287 and 12.792; cf. also on 1.78.
58. Iris is here described as *aëria.*
59. This is the scene used by Virgil in 4.283ff. Cf. below, p. 95.
60. Cf. Homer, *Il.*, 11.26ff, where the snakes fashioned on Agamemnon's cuirass are compared to rainbows set into a cloud by Zeus as a terrifying sign for mortal men. Cf. above, p. 39, on the aggressiveness of snakes.
61. Cf. Williams, *Comm.* on Book 5, *ad loc.*
62. For detail cf. Austin, *ad loc.*
63. Cf. above, pp. 14ff.
64. Homer, *Od.*, 5.47f; cf. also *Od.*, 7.138.
65. Homer, *Od.*, 24.5.
66. Cf. Austin, *Comm.* on Book 4, 242ff, and cf. 6.749 where the 'god' calls spirits to drink of 'forgetting' so that they may return to life.

67. 4.244, *et lumina morte resignat* does not, I think, as is usually assumed (cf. Austin) refer to 'opening the eyes of the dead upon the pyre, so that they might see their way to their new home', namely the underworld. This fits badly into the context. It surely means that 'he opens their eyes from death' calling them back to life. Then the sequence becomes coherent and circular, covering all life and death, beginning and ending with rebirth.
68. Cf. below, pp. 60ff, esp. 68.
69. Cicero, *De Div.*, I, 63 *seuocatus* and Pease, *Comm.* on I, 114.7, note.
70. Cicero, *De Div.*, II, 58, 119, cf. above p. 30; cf. also *Aen.*, 7.88ff.
71. This passage has been criticized in many ways. Cf. Austin, *Comm.* on 4, 248ff; 256ff.
72. Cf. Austin, *Comm.* on Book I, *ad loc.*
73. Mercury's message from Jupiter to Dido is told without any detail (1.297ff) but is certainly a message of peace. At the end of Book 9, 803ff, Jupiter sends 'airy Iris' to Juno conveying a 'not gentle command'. He sends Iris presumably because this is a counter-command to Juno sending Iris to Turnus at the beginning of the book.
74. Cf. above n. 15.
75. For detail, cf. Hübner, *Dirae,* 38ff, also above, pp. 38ff.
76. For the close tie of the word *dirus* to prodigies cf. Grassmann-Fischer, *Prodigien,* 104, and note 33; on *dirus* cf. Hübner, *Dirae,* see index; on this passage, cf. above, p. 27 and below, p. 145.
77. Cf. Kühn, *Götterszenen,* 22, n. 1, who compares Homer, *Il.*, 8.51f, and 11.81f: 'Jupiter schaut aber nicht von einem Berggipfel herab, sondern vager, aber universeller vom höchsten Aether.'
78. I am here following Boyancé, *Religion,* 31 in the main.
79. Wlosok, *Venus,* 114: 'gleichsam als Ober- und Inbegriff, der alle Götter umfasst und in sich vereinigt.' Cf. also the diagram 106 where I should want to add that Juno's actions become part of fate in spite of her intentions to the contrary and that Venus in her mother love would have stalled fate by her collaboration with Juno in Book 4 and by her plea in Book 10 to save Ascanius for a peaceful life, at least as far as her overt intentions went.
80. Cf. Heinze, *Technik,* 293.
81. Cf. 10.101ff.
82. Cf. Allison, *Reverential Gesture,* 87f, '*deductio* or the escorting of a magistrate or public figure by his friends, supporters and clients.' I owe this reference to the author.

83. Cf. Matthaei, 'The Fates', 16f; Quinn, *Aeneid,* 213ff; a positive interpretation in Otis, *Virgil,* 353f.
84. Cf. below, pp. 125ff.
85. Büchner, 'Schicksalsgedanke' 288 (17); Quinn, *Aeneid,* 214; Wlosok, *Venus,* 105 and n.20.
86. Cf. 7.393.
87. Cf. Austin, *ad loc.*
88. Cf. 3.158.
89. Grassman-Fischer, *Prodigien,* 24f and notes; earlier Virgil certainly addresses Augustus as a future star, *Georg.* 1.32.
90. When in 1.93 Aeneas in his distress stretches his hands to the stars and addresses those thrice blessed ones, he turns to the great Trojan dead who are in the sky above Aeneas, if not among the stars. Cf. below, p. 80.
91. C. Day Lewis's tr., except for 744.
92. Norden, *Aeneis,* VI, 28.
93. Cf. Norden, *Aeneis,* VI, 28, and above, p. 32.
94. Guthrie, *Orpheus* 186, 193 n.20.
95. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.,* 1.19.43; cf. above, p. 29.
96. Cf. above p. 28.
97. Williams, *Comm.* on Book 5.722 comments on the word *facies* ('form') 'the actual shade of Anchises is in Elysium (735). This is an apparition or vision (*imago,* cf. *Aen.,* 4.353, 6.695) sent by Jupiter.' Williams implies here that the actual shade of Anchises dwelling in Elysium could not come down from the sky, because he believes that Elysium is in the depth of the earth, as in fact it *appears* to be in large parts of Book 6. But at least on the face of it, this passage means that Elysium is in the sky. Cf. Steiner, *Traum,* 55, n.1: 'Die Gestalt' (des Anchises) schwebt vom Himmel herab. Die Kommentatoren haben sich schon seit Servius daran gestossen, weil Anchises sich ja in der Unterwelt befinde. Dem ist entgegenzuhalten, dass Vergils Vorstellung vom Elysium, wo sich der verstorbene Anchises aufhält, keine einheitliche ist; hat er doch eine unterirdische Hadestopographie mit dem pythagoräischen Weltbild vereinigt (cf. Kerenyi, *Hermes,* 66.435ff). Beweis dafür ist u.a., dass Aeneas auf seiner Hadesfahrt zuletzt in die obere Luftregion gelangt—*aëris in campis latis* 6.887; dazu bemerkt Servius: *Locutus autem est secundum eos qui putant Elysium lunarem esse circulum* (cf. Norden, *Aeneis* VI, 23ff). Jegliche Bedenken, dass der Totengeist des Anchises nicht vom Himmel herabkommen könne, sind somit fehl am Platz.' (Cf. also

p. 86, n.1.) Steiner further compares Somnus who lives in the 'underworld' (6.390) but comes to Palinurus from the 'ethereal stars' (5.838).

98. For Epictetus, according to Cumont, *Afterlife*, 15, the expression 'descent into Hades' means 'departing from life, the transference of the soul to new surroundings', because he also says, 'there is no Hades, no Acheron, no Cocytus, no Pyriphlegethon.'
99. Cf. 6.459, 481, 568, 680, 719–21, 790.
100. Norden, *Aeneis*, VI, 23ff.
101. Boyancé, *Religion*, 166ff, and 'Discours d'Anchise' 72, also Prescott, *Virgil's Art*, 425f.
102. Otis, 'Three Problems', 176, says: '. . . his Hades vision is a dream and a 'false dream' in the sense that it is not to be taken as literal reality '. . .' that dream world in which reality is rather symbolized than stated.' I agree with this, but I also believe that the reality which is here symbolized can be made explicit. Cf. also Steiner, *Traum*, 88ff who sees in it a dream (other references for this view on p. 95 n.3), but also an indication of place, while others interpret it as an indication of time.
103. Cf. below p. 105.
104. Cf. 6.142, 564.
105. Cf. 6.46.
106. *Orphic. fr.* 245 (Kern).
107. Horace, *Carm.* 3. 1, 1.
108. Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis*, 590Aff, (Loeb tr.).
109. One of the places mentioned is Chaos, 6.265; cf. Kirk and Raven, *Presocratics*, 26f, on *chaos* as 'space' in Aristotle, Pythagoras, Zeno of Elea, and Plato's *Timaeus;* as 'water' in Stoic teaching. On the other hand, cf. Plutarch, *De Primo Frigido*, 953A, where Chaos, Hades, and Erebos are said to be 'subterranean and interior darkness'.
110. *Specus, antris*, 3.25.2 and 4; cf. also the oracle of Faunus, *Aen.*, 7.81ff.
111. Cf. Austin, *ad loc.* The priestess in her magical chant invokes 300 gods, among them 'Erebus, Chaos, and three-bodied Hecate, the three faces of the virgin goddess Diana', 4.510f. The association of Hecate with night, the traditional underworld, and magic is plain here.
112. Varro, *Lingua Latina*, 7.16.
113. Cf. also Plutarch, *De Facie*, 937F, and Cornutus, *Compend.*, 72.
114. This comprehensiveness of Hecate's power is grounded in tradition and goes as far back as Hesiod, *Theogony*, 411ff.
115. Cf. above, p. 32,

116. Cf. above, pp. 8f.
117. Cf. 6.541.
118. Cf. above, p. 23.
119. Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis,* 591 A–C.
120. Cf. Guthrie, *Orpheus,* above, n.94; cf. Cornutus, *Compend.,* 4, Ch. 5.
121. My tr.
122. Cf. Boyancé, *Religion,* 167.
123. Cf. the emphatic use of *suus;* also Servius on 641; Norden, *Aeneis,* VI, 296 on the style.
124. Plutarch, *De Facie* 944 C; Norden, *Aeneis* VI, 23ff; Waser, *R.E., s.v.* Elysion, Vol. 5, col. 2474.
125. According to Buffiére, *Mythes d'Homere,* 490, Porphyry, the Neoplatonist of the third century A.D., explains the Homeric passage about the Elysian field (*Od.,* 4.563), as an allegory of the sojourn of righteous souls on the moon. He adds that Homer has 'fittingly called the visible side of the moon which is lit up by the sun the Elysian plain' (Stobaeus, *Eclog. physic.* 49,61). According to Buffière, what is meant here is an etymology of *Elysium* which derives the word from *helios,* the sun: Elysium is the part of the moon which is illuminated by the sun. It is possible that by his strange utterance about the sun and the stars Virgil is referring to this etymology which may well be older than Porphyry.
126. Cf. above, pp. 36ff, and cf. Norden, *Aeneis* VI, 23f.
127. Cf. Ed. Fraenkel, 'Aspects of Aeneid VII', 2.
128. Cf. Cumont, 'Les Morts Prématurées', 123ff.
129. Cf. above, pp. 33f.
130. The fact that the 'Theban heroes', for instance, should long since have moved on is hardly an argument capable of dislodging this interpretation of Cumont's. The Theban heroes belong to the same generation as Anchises; e.g. Tydeus, father of Diomedes, one of the Achaean heroes fighting before Troy was among them. Also Norden, *Aeneis,* VI, 258, has shown that this group was traditional in a 'descent into the underworld'.
131. For punishment by fire cf. Philodemus, 'About the gods', XIX, 16ff, quoted by Cumont, *Afterlife,* 176; also Cumont, *Symbolisme Funéraire,* 131, n.1, where a Syrian inscription of the first century B.C. pointing to the same idea is added.
132. Cf. Boyancé, 'Sens Cosmique', 248: 'Il [scil. Virgile] voulait qu'on sût, derrière les images du mythe, apercevoir les vérités de la philosophie.'
133. This picture of the universe is, in essentials, the same as Varro's description of it; cf. above, p. 23,

Notes to Part III, Introduction

1. Cf. Diodorus Siculus, above, p. 33.
2. Cf. also 6.745 *perfecto temporis orbe,* 748 *mille rotam* uoluere *per annos;* on 'cyclic time' cf. Thornton, *Time,* 112f.
3. Cf. also of Jupiter 4.269 *caelum ac terras qui numine torquet,* 9.93 *torquet qui sidera mundi.*
4. Cf. the *Parcae* as causing events 'to roll on' 1.22; also 5.707 *quae fatorum posceret ordo.*
5. Otis, 'Originality', 51.
6. Cf. also Otis, 'Originality', 49: 'Each of these levels of being, so to speak, is carefully coordinated. Human and divine, natural and supernatural, physical and psychic are not arbitrarily mingled but logically connected so that a free human act, a plainly human motive or feeling, is at the same time an event on two or more divine levels and has also other repercussions.'
7. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 316ff, 'Parallel Divine and Psychological Motivation'.
8. Otis, 'Originality', 50.
9. Otis, *Virgil,* 354.
10. Otis, 'Originality', 31.
11. Cf. Otis, note 9 above.
12. The importance of this is missed by Duckworth, 'Fate', *passim* and particularly 361, because 10.111f is taken as a general statement about free will, not as a dispensation for a specific situation and time. Also the effect of the gods is underplayed everywhere. For the lack of divine intervention in the Nisus-Euryalus episode cf. below p. 166.
13. Interpreted above, pp. 54ff.
14. Cf. Norden, *Aeneis VI,* 144ff.
15. This phrase is not in the text; it is an explanation by D. Lewis.
16. Cf. 3.443 *insanam uatem:* cf. Dodds, *The Greeks,* index s.v. 'possession'.
17. Cf. Steiner, *Traum,* 78ff.
18. *Cui uix attollens Palinurus lumina fatur* 5.847; scholars are divided between two interpretations already mooted by Servius and briefly stated by R. D. Williams, *Comm.* on Books 1–6, *ad loc.:* '"hardly lifting his eyes" (because so intent on steering) rather than "barely able to life his eyes" (because of the power of the god)'. The first interpretation implies that in steering he does not lift his eyes. But this is in conflict with 853 ('he kept his eyes looking up to the stars') *(sub astra).* He is, of course, steering by the stars like Aeneas in Book 10.161f where the stars are called 'the path of dusky night' (Lewis's tr. 'the stars by which they steered

through the dark night'). Furthermore, the difficulty Palinurus experiences in keeping his eyes raised to the stars is surely due to a very natural tiredness. This interpretation prepares the way for Sleep's success without interfering with the clear distinction between the stage of persuasion by words and the stage of magic violence.

19. Heinze, *Technik,* 189; Ed. Fraenkel, 'Aeneid VII', 4; Pöschl, *Dichtkunst,* 168, n.2; Steiner, *Traum,* 84, 63, n.2, 66. Cf. *Il.,* 3.385ff, where Helen first resists Aphrodite's demand and is then cowed by her into obedience. Cf. also *Aen.,* 9.717–21, where Ares is said to 'plie the goad in the heart' of the Latins, as Apollo did to the Sibyl in 6.101; then he enters into the mind of the fighting troops: *bellatorque animo deus incidit,* 721; cf. *Il.* 17.210.
20. Cf. note 18 above.
21. 5.604, tr. Williams, except that for 'with them' Williams translates 'with us', which must be a slip.
22. Cf. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 12: 'This unity [scil. of the *Aeneid* through the idea of fate] is emphatically made evident in the massive drama between the divine couple of Jupiter and Juno, resp. between Juno and Aeneas.' Cf. also 70. Buchheit discusses this for Books 1 and 7 and the reconciliation in Book 12. His interpretation of the prooemium of the *Aeneid* brings out the importance of Juno clearly, 13ff; but see my criticism in Notes to Conclusion 13. My analysis is really an extension and full working out of Pöschl's idea that the storm in Book 1 represents the basic poetic and emotional sequence of the epic; it is also perhaps a working out of Otis's conception of cosmic 'sympathy'.
23. This may well be Virgil's way of 'imitating' the correspondences between the beginning and the end of the *Iliad,* cf. Webster, *Mycenae to Homer,* 263; Whitman, *Homer,* 257ff.
24. Cf. below, p. 149, and notes 1 and 2.

Notes to Phase I

1. Pöschl, *Dichtkunst,* 23ff.
2. Cf. above, pp. 48f.
3. Cf. appendix A on *ira,* etc.
4. Cf. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 19ff.
5. Cf. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 19ff.
6. Cf. above, pp. 42f.
7. Cf. above, p. 43.
8. Cf. above, pp. 47f and Buchheit, *Sendung,* 68 n.265.
9. Homer, *Od.,* 5.282ff; cf. Knauer, 67; Pöschl, *Dichtkunst,* 57ff; Otis, *Virgil,* 230ff.

10. Neptune, the Roman equivalent of Poseidon, is in the *Aeneid* in opposition to Juno, the Roman equivalent of Hera. In the *Iliad* he is on her and the Greeks' side (Books 13 and 14). But he is more moderate than Hera and at times more concerned to fulfil the will of Zeus (8.198ff and 20.290ff), as in the *Aeneid;* cf. also above n.8 Buchheit.
11. Some views on Aeneas in the Storm: Pöschl, *Dichtkunst,* 59f: 'His speech not only expresses his mortal fear, but also serves to express his character . . .', 'The monologue of despair'. Büchner, *Vergilius,* cols. 318f: 'Im Gehetztwerden durch die Naturgewalten ist ihm der Glaube an die Hilfe der Götter, der Drang, seine Aufgabe zu erfüllen, durchaus verloren gegangen. Die Verzweiflung des Aeneas. . . .' Cf. also Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience,* 412f, and Quinn, *Aeneid,* 103. Otis, *Virgil,* 231f: 'It is not really the physical calamity that oppresses him but his total situation, as the *survivor* of Troy. The storm is simply the occasion, the "trigger", not the primary cause of his feeling. Here we see, in short, the hero in despair, seizing the unfavourable circumstance of the moment to reveal his fundamental nostalgia.' It seems to me that 'nostalgia' says too much and too little. It is Aeneas' love and loyalty to his city of Troy that makes him long to have died for it and in front of its walls. This is no 'failure of character', as Otis goes on to say. Gossage, *Aeneas,* 133, 'It is certainly clear from what Aeneas says that he is not afraid of death here.' Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 3f: 'Tis limbs are loosed, but it is not fear which brings this about. . . . The purely physical cold of the storm is meant. . . . In this life-killing cold Aeneas feels death actually coming upon him.'
12. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 3f, does not notice this separation of body and mind, though he also maintains that Aeneas is not afraid. For the separation cf. also Lucretius, 3.396–401.
13. Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.,* 2.23.55.
14. On 1.93 *duplices tendens ad sidera palmas:* Sullivan, 'Gestures', 360f, has shown that 'the gesture of the hands toward heaven is a prayer gesture, most often an appeal for aid, whether accompanied by a vocal prayer or not.' Sullivan applies this finding to our passage in this way: 'A Roman reader would readily have caught the meaning of the gesture: it is a *precatio* without words, a despairing appeal for help.' In Od., 5.306, τρισμάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τέτρακις οἳ τότ᾽ ὄλοντο the noun is in the nominative, *not* the vocative. One is, therefore, inclined to take Virgil's *o terque quaterque beati* in the same way. But since *manus tendebat* is a gesture of prayer *o terque quaterque beati* should be taken as a vocative

which is then followed by another indubitable vocative *o Danaum fortissime gentis.* Then these lines are, in fact, a prayer, though a prayer for the past, no longer capable of fulfilment, namely that Diomedes should have killed him when he almost did. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 4, remains vague here.

15. Conington, on 1.94 also compares *Il.* 21.272, where Achilles in danger of drowning wishes he had died as *ἀγαθός* (a hero's death) at the hands of Hector.
16. For the place of the spirits of the dead in the air cf. above, pp. 59 and 69.
17. In *Il.* 5.311ff Diomedes would have killed Aeneas, if his mother Aphrodite and then Apollo had not saved him; Aeneas' high regard for Diomedes here foreshadows the regard for Aeneas expressed by Diomedes in *Aen.* 11.278ff.
18. Cicero, *Leges,* 2.1.3, *ille sapientissimus uir.*
19. Horace *Epist.,* 1.2.17ff; cf. Stanford, *Ulysses,* 122ff.
20. This felicitous expression is not mine. But I can no longer trace its origin.
21. Cicero, *De Re Publ.,* V, vii, Loeb ed., cf. 9.205, *animus lucis contemptor,* said by Euryalus about himself.
22. There is no 'recovery of fortitude' in 157ff, as Otis, *Virgil,* 230 says; he has never lost it. Cf. above note 11.
23. *Il.* 5.311ff; cf. on this and what follows Wlosok, *Venus,* 18 and esp. n.15 which is very helpful, although I cannot agree with her final judgement that Aeneas suffers deeply for the sake of his mission, being to all appearances betrayed by the divine powers, but all the same submits to them in obedience (Wlosok, 20).
24. Cf. also Jupiter's words, 4.227ff.
25. Cf. Gossage, *Aeneas,* 133; Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 5.
26. Cf. Otis, *Virgil,* 232 not clear; Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 4 believes that the mission of Aeneas is outside the focus of this scene which shows destructive daemonic forces attacking him as a human being so that 'this storm scene tells us nothing about the hero's attitude to his fated mission.' It surely does by default.
27. Kraggerud, *Aeneisstudien,* 13f.
28. Cf. Camps, *Introduction,* 26 top; also the rather different interpretation by Otis, *Virgil,* 232.
29. Cf. Wlosok, *Venus,* 23f, who interprets these lines as expressing Aeneas' greatness, his *magnanimitas* in contrast to other scholars quoted by her (23 n.37) who see Aeneas as diffident and lacking in faith. But Austin, *ad loc.,* 'Critics of Aeneas would do well to note his courage and unselfishness here.'

30. Cf. Conington, *ad loc.*
31. Cicero, *ad Att.*, 5.10.3, cf. 4.6.3.
32. Cf. also Cicero, *de Offic.*, 1.88.
33. Latte, 'Randbemerkungen', 273f, referred to by Pohlenz, *Führertum*, 52. This virtue is already known to Plato and to Chrysippus. Plato, *Laws*, 930a, describes people who are calm and not easily roused to passion as 'gentle' (πρᾷος) and 'deep' (βαϑύς); and Chrysippus says (frg. 892 Arn.): 'We call people "deep" when nothing that could offend them succeeds in going down into their depth.' The description given by Chrysippus of what it means to be 'deep' is characteristic of the Old Stoa. For him, a 'deep' man is one whose depth is unstirred by anything that impinges on him. This is very different from Cicero and from Aeneas where the depth is stirred, but its turmoil is hidden under a serene surface.
34. Cf. Conington, *ad loc.*
35. Differently Otis, *Virgil*, 237: 'Thus abruptly have we descended from the level of fate (the Jupiter prophecy) to the level at which the subfatal forces can visibly "intervene" in human affairs.'
36. Many scholars have found this first errand of Mercury at Jupiter's behest more or less unnecessary. Liebing, *Aeneas*-gestalt, 15, refers to Heyne *ad loc.*, Conington, *ad loc.*, Heinze, *Technik*, 331, n.1; and to Friedrich, 'Excurse', 168, and Pöschl, *Dichtkunst*, 29, note 1, as considering these lines as preliminary and later to be eliminated. Liebing himself defends the errand as preparing for the situation in which Dido falls in love with Aeneas. I should add that this errand and Dido's consequent 'quiet' hospitality express the supremacy of Jupiter's will who is remedying the dangerous position into which Juno has cast the Trojans. His sway lasts up to the point at which Venus intervenes through Cupido.
37. Büchner, 'Schicksalsgedanke', 275f: 'He sends the divine messenger Hermes to Dido, Queen of Carthage, in order that she may not *fati nescia*, from ignorance of what is ordained, turn away the Trojans. For the stay with Dido also is evidently intended by Fate.' Cf. below, pp. 154f.
38. Otis, *Virgil*, 235 and n.1 and 236. Concerning some details of Otis's argument, he says (p. 236, cf. also Pöschl, *Dichtkunst*, 123, n.2, 128, n.2) about Venus shedding her disguise (402ff): 'Her final reversion to herself in *propria persona*, the lovely goddess who once bent over the couch of Anchises (*Hymn to Aphrodite* 174f), is just sufficiently sensuous to connote what cannot be overtly mentioned without spoiling the precarious dignity of the scene.' While, of

course, Venus is described as beautiful, each feature described has a definite function in making it plain that this is a goddess and, in fact, Venus (cf. Heinze, *Technik,* 312f) Helen of Troy recognized Aphrodite by her 'beautiful neck, her lovely breasts and her shining eyes' (*Il.* 3.396f, cf. Conington, on 402). Her neck is rosy as her mouth is rosy (cf. 2.593 Conington) when she, deeply concerned as mother and wife, seeks to turn Aeneas from his wrath against Helen to seeing to the safety of Anchises. The scent of her hair is again a sign of her divinity, as Ovid makes explicit (*Fasti* 5.375, Conington). The gait of a divine person is also recognizable as such. The old nurse of the royal family recognizes Iris in Beroe by her gait in addition to other 'signs of divine beauty' (5.646ff, Heinze, above). Aias recognizes Poseidon disguised as Kalchas by the movements of his feet and legs (*Il.* 13.70ff). Furthermore, there is no need to assume that Aeneas 'senses the ambiguity, the trickery, perhaps even something of the amorality' (Otis, *Virgil,* 236). He has been taken in by her disguise and feels deceived and disappointed because he has not spoken to his mother face to face, as he does in Book 2.

39. Lesky, 'Amor', 594; cf. Wlosok, *Venus,* 101f; differently Otis, *Virgil,* 67.
40. Alexander, 'A new approach', 395–400.
41. Camps, *Introduction,* 24.
42. Cicero, *Academ. Prior.* II 44.135: *sapiensne non timeat, ne patria deleatur? non doleat, si deleta sit?* This view is then attributed to Antiochus that the wise man may experience fear and grief on behalf of his country.
43. Cf. also 4.231.
44. Cf. Andromache, 3.320.
45. Cf. 1.302.
46. Cf. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 72: 'When Venus gives her protection to the hero on his way to Carthage, this lasts as far as his arrival in Dido's presence. There the cloud dissolves, her protection comes to an end, for now Aeneas enters into the sphere of protection by Mercury—Jupiter. Their care extends to their reception by the Carthaginians.' When Liebing goes on to see the change from this situation in Juno's intervention in Book 4, he overlooks the fact that this change is initiated by Venus already in Book 1. But Liebing's perspective on the relation between gods and men as expressed in this passage (72) seems to me to be right.
47. It is worth noting that in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius, Cupid kindles Medea's love at her first sight of Jason (cf. Lesky, 'Amor', 594). This would be impossible in the struc-

ture of the first phase of the *Aeneid,* as I have interpreted it. It would have meant counteracting Jupiter's command to Dido through Mercury that she should be peaceful and hospitable before there was any chance of fulfilling it. It would also mean that, at no point in the plot, could the two great regal figures of Dido and Aeneas be portrayed together without the blemish of a passion against the will of Jupiter.

Notes to Phase 2

1. Venus is, of course, quite mistaken in thinking that the generous hospitality offered by Dido to Aeneas is offered at the instigation of Juno (*Junonia . . . hospitia* 671f); it was as we have seen, Jupiter who prevented, through Mercury, Dido's armies from attacking the Trojans on landing and who initiated Dido's hospitality, cf. p. 83.
2. Cf. Austin, on 664.
3. Cf. 684; cf. Kühn, *Götterszenen,* 62.
4. Cf. Camps, *Introduction,* 147, n.11.
5. Lesky, 'Amor', 598 calls it an 'attack'.
6. The word *insidat* 719 is suggestive of the divine power of Cupido entering Dido's being. For it means 'settle' or 'sink down into', cf. Conington and Austin, *ad loc.*
7. Cf. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 32.
8. Book 4; cf. Heinze, *Technik,* 117, 124f.
9. Cf. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 65.
10. On the Laocoon episode cf. Kleinknecht, 'Laokoon', *passim.*
11. Austin, on 226.
12. For allegorical understanding of Athene in relation to Jupiter, cf. above, pp. 23f.
13. Cf. the words of the priest Panthus, *ferus omnia Jupiter Argos transtulit,* 327.
14. For the dream vision of Hector cf. Steiner, *Traum,* 29–37. The figures in the dreams of the *Aeneid* are either gods or dead people; the dead were also believed to be divine and so on a *par* with the gods.
15. Cf. Steiner, *Traum,* 26 and n.4.
16. Cf. Steiner, *Traum,* 30f and his excellent reference in note 1 to Lucretius 4.765ff.
17. Cf. 6.894.
18. Cf. his own words, 2.431ff; Heinze, *Technik,* 5; Steiner, *Traum,* 29, 33.
19. Tr. Williams.
20. This passage (2.314–17) is often interpreted as showing Aeneas in the same blind 'Homeric' battle rage which is typical of Turnus, especially after his possession by Allecto.

Williams, *ad loc.*, summarizes the matter well: 'In these lines Aeneas shows the typical characteristics of the Homeric hero courting a brave death: thoughts of valour drive out *ratio,* and he is a victim of *furor* and *ira.* This wild and impetuous attitude is one he has to try to learn to conquer as he leaves the Homeric world and journeys towards a different way of life; but his success in conquering it is intermittent and imperfect.' (Cf. Heinze, *Technik,* 272; Otis, *Virgil,* 241f; Quinn, *Aeneid,* 118.) With Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 35f and note 3, I consider this interpretation mistaken. Aeneas seems to me to be represented here as a warrior suddenly faced with his own city, his *patria,* in dire danger, roused to a frenzy of grief and anger, trying with great speed of thought to decide on the best line of action on behalf of his city. He can surely not be blamed for not *first* saving his own family (cf. Heinze, Otis): a man's country comes first, as Cicero says: *pietatem quae cum magna in parentibus et propinquis, tum in patria maxima est* (*De Republica,* VI, 16, quoted by Otis, 245, but not applied to our passage). It is only when Aeneas has been shown by Venus that Troy is doomed by the gods that he turns to protect his family: and rightly so. The crucial words in the passage are: *amens, sat rationis, furor, ira, mentem praecipitant. . . .* For *furor* and *ira* see Appendix A: they denote the frame of mind of a warrior eager to enter battle or in the midst of battle and have in themselves no moral connotation. *Amens* means 'out of one's mind', often with grief, like Panthus (321) who announces the downfall of Troy (cf. Liebing, 34, n.2, who also compares 9.424 and 478). *Nec sat rationis in armis:* there is not enough of 'resource', of a 'considered plan', in Aeneas simply entering the battle, he needs a group of men; for *ratio* in this sense, cf. Hercules 'not wanting in resource' (*non te rationis egentem* 8.299) when faced with the Lernaean hydra (Liebing not right here). *Mentem praecipitant:* this does not mean, as I used to think, that anger hurls his mind headlong, i.e. makes him 'irrational'. There is no irrationality in 11.2–3, where Aeneas' loving cares drive him with great urgency also to grant time for the burial of his companions, his mind being deeply moved by death, and yet he first fulfils his vows to the gods (*praecipitare* is not intransitive, but the object here, as in 2.317, is Aeneas or Aeneas' mind; for the swift movement of the mind in thought cf. 4.285f and 8.20f, where *celerem* and *rapit* indicate the speed). Perhaps *praecipitare,* in these two passages, suggests that thought moves with great intensity in one direction (the glory of death in battle for the homeland and the burial of the slain companions) while in fact it is called in another; viz., the fulfilment of the vows and the arrival of Panthus with the Penates.

21. Cf. Austin, *ad loc.*
22. Cf. Austin on 396 about the difficulty of interpretation here.
23. Whether these are the 'Greek' gods of line 396 or the gods in general makes no difference.
24. Cf. Lloyd, 'Anchises', 46; Kraggerud, *Aeneisstudien*, 13f.
25. Cf. Austin on 646.
26. Cf. Austin on 649.
27. The belief that lightning imparts power of some kind to whatever it strikes is evident in the Roman idea of the *bidental.* This was a place which had been struck by lightning or where 'thunderbolts' were buried. It was enclosed so that no one would step on it. According to Lucan 1.608, a certain Arruns buried thunderstones with murmured incantations and so 'gave a divine spirit *(numen)* to the place'. (Cf. also Porph. on Horace, *Ars poet.*, 471; schol. on Persius, 227; cf. A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 22ff; Eliade, *Shamanism*, 19: among the Buryat of Southern Siberia, 'the gods choose the future shaman by striking him with lightning'. The curious tradition of Servius auct. about Romulus also being a man struck by lightning is perhaps confirmed by the story of his mysterious disappearance. Livy tells us (1.16) that when he was holding a review of the army, 'suddenly a storm arose with mighty crashes of thunder and covered up the king with such a dense cloud that the assembled people could not see him; and Romulus was afterwards no longer on earth.' The senators standing next to him said that he was carried aloft by the storm. This story looks like a rationalization of Romulus being struck by lightning and so deified. Cf. Grassmann-Fischer, *Prodigien*, 12, who refers to Enking, 95, for the reference to Servius and the information that this positive view of being 'touched by lightning' is Etruscan.
28. For detail on the 'star' cf. Grassmann-Fischer, *Prodigien*, 14ff; on thunder as *augurium maximum*, cf. Heinze, *Technik*, 55, and Grassmann-Fischer; Steiner, *Traum*, 34.
29. Cf. Williams, *Comm.* on Book 3, Intr. 15ff. Heinze, *Technik*, 83.
30. Cf. Williams.
31. Cf. Williams on 18.
32. Cf. Williams on 133.
33. Tr. Williams.
34. Cf. above, pp. 44ff.

35. Cf. above, pp. 39f.
36. The Games belong to the *lustratio* made to Jupiter. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae,* 71.
37. Cf. Williams, *Comm.* on 3. 374f.
38. On 3.374ff, cf. above, pp. 70f.
39. Cf. 8.42ff and 81ff.
40. Cf. 2.615ff; 5.704 and 726.
41. Concerning the story about Achaemenides and Polyphemus (588ff), Williams, *Comm.* on 3.588f suggests that 'Virgil may have felt uncertain whether the episode was a proper part of the poem.' He also points out 'the very marked similarities' between Achaemenides and Sinon (2.57f). I suggest that the two episodes of Sinon and Achaemenides are composed as contrasting panels, the one near the beginning of the Inset, the other near the end. The meaning would be this, that the old Troy is destroyed by Priam's mercy (2.146ff) to a lying Greek, while the 'new Troy' is saved by Anchises' mercy (3.610ff) to a Greek in need who truthfully warns the Trojans against danger (639) and so deserves to be rescued (666f).
42. Cf. Kleinknecht, *Zorn,* 389: '. . . thus the person swearing a solemn oath calls in case of perjury the wrath of Father Jupiter, of Mars Gradivus and of the other gods down upon himself; *si fallat, Jouem patrem Gradiuumque Martem aliosque iratos inuocat deos*' (Livy, 2.45, 14).
43. Cf. Pöschl, *Dichtkunst,* 141, 'eine Selbstverfluchung, die grausam in Erfüllung geht.'
44. Tr. Austin.
45. Here Venus in her blind mother love works against Jupiter and Fate. Differently, Wlosok, *Venus,* 103.
46. The absurdity of this proposal has led Mackail to the elimination of this line which also occurs in 1.73.
47. Cf. 1.19ff.
48. For the double meaning, cf. Pease, *ad loc.*
49. Compared by Mackail.
50. Cf. Pease, *ad loc.*
51. Differently Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 32: 'But Aeneas' love is not derived from divine influence. In this way Virgil makes it intelligible that Aeneas later can immediately obey the command to sail away.' I do not think that any influence of Juno or Venus could stand in the way of obedience to a direct personal command from Jupiter, Lord of the universe.
52. To take the vision and message of Mercury as a 'fairy-tale form' for Aeneas' realization of his near-failure (Quinn, *Aeneis,* 142) dispenses with the gods as a reality (cf. also Heinze, *Technik,* 308). For the reality of this divine intervention cf. Otis, *Virgil,* 268, and Steiner, *Traum,* 48. The

question of human free will is raised at this point by Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 70f, and Williams, *Proceedings,* 34, who says that Aeneas 'was absolutely free to disregard or reject the warning of Mercury' and is also ready to exchange for 'hearing the voice of god' hearing 'the voice of conscience'. Mercury's arguments are directed at Aeneas' conscience (*if* there is such a concept in Latin!), but his final word is a summary command from Jupiter. Fate, which at this point means departure for Italy, can be postponed, as it is here by Aeneas' love for Dido or later by Juno's plea for an extension of life for Turnus. But a more than temporary resistance to Fate or Jupiter's will is impossible: Jupiter's wrath annihilates by disease and death (12.850f, cf. below, p. 145). This is what Aeneas means when he says *Italiam non sponte sequor,* (4.361), although it is also true to say that in his basic nature he is *pius,* loyal and obedient to the gods. But it is only later that he is able to say that the oracles of the gods 'through fate have led him who was willing' (*fatis egere uolentem,* 8.133) to Euander. Cf. also below, p. 157 and n.18.

53. Cf. Austin on 358f.
54. According to Austin on 360f, 'As a servant of duty he [Aeneas] must be cold, as a man he is on fire; his mind pulls him one way, his body another, and he cannot bear it.' This perspective seems to me to be mistaken. To speak of 'duty' makes the issue moral rather than religious (cf. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 80). One could, of course, argue that it was Aeneas' 'duty' to leave Dido and follow his mission. But this is not how Virgil represents it. It is much more exciting and dramatic: a call comes from the Lord of the Universe and Aeneas responds. But see Pöschl 65, Aeneas is 'a hero of duty'.
55. Rather differently Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 80; on 'emotion' in Aeneas cf. above, p. 84 and n.41.
56. Scholars are divided as to whether the tears are wept by Aeneas or by Anna and Dido. With Servius, Augustine, *C.D.*, 9, 4, Pöschl, *Dichtkunst,* 76f and n.3–4, Pease, *ad loc.*, and others and against Conington, *ad loc.* and Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 83, and others, I take the tears to be those of Aeneas. If the tears are those of Dido and/or Anna, these words are pathetic but no more. If they are the tears of Aeneas, they express the tension in him between emotion and mind so characteristic of him at this stage. This tension is described by Wilson, 'Action and Emotion', 67, in this way: 'Action is often dictated by a strong sense of duty, while emotion, instead of being a motivating power, becomes an idle accompaniment

that contradicts the meaning of the act.' This is surely inadequate. Aeneas' love for Dido is not an 'idle accompaniment' of his departure. His love determined his action until Mercury's coming; then it had to be overruled by his mind which forthwith determined his action in obedience to the god. But after Book 6, Aeneas is a whole man, even when justice and mercy pull him in different directions (cf. last scene of the epic, p. 147). His anger goes with his sense of justice, his sadness at human losses with his humanity. The possibility of conflict between these two is inherent in the human condition and, therefore, true to life. Parry, 'Two Voices', 121, formulates the tension in Aeneas in this way: 'We hear two distinct voices in the *Aeneid*, a public voice of triumph, and a private voice of regret. The private voice, the personal emotions of a man, is never allowed to motivate action.' This distinction between the 'personal and private', on the one hand, and the 'public', on the other, seems to me to be thoroughly 'modern' and quite un-Roman. The life of a leader of men (and Aeneas was this even at Troy) is to the Roman a part of public life in all its aspects (cf. e.g., above, p. 11 and notes 48–9).

57. 578f, tr. Austin.
58. Cf. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt*, 72.
59. Tr. Williams.
60. Cf. Williams, *ad loc.*
61. 60, 78, 54/93, 84, 96f, 760, Williams on 42f.
62. Cf. above, pp. 28, 59.
63. *Laetus*, 5.34, 58, 100, 107, 577.
64. Cf. Williams, *Comm.* on Book 5.523–4: '. . . the star portends the future greatness of Ancestes, in particular with regard to the foundation and fame of his city Segesta. . . .'
65. This may be Epicurean, but in Dido this attitude is only a brief phase of a few lines.
66. Austin, *ad loc.*, 'she sees her doom clearly', tr. Lewis, 'frightened out of her wits by destiny': *fatis* must primarily be the destiny which directs Aeneas to Italy, because Dido herself does not die 'by the decree of fate', as Virgil says explicitly (696).
67. These are not so much 'symbols of her inner movement towards death' (Pöschl, *Dichtkunst*, 162), as activities from the Beyond (cf. Pöschl, 136ff).
68. For the gods punishing men by driving them into madness, cf. Stübler, *Religiosität des Livius*, 179ff; also Kleinknecht, *Zorn*, 385, notes 22f, who quotes Cic., *Mil.*, 86, *eadem ira deorum hanc eius satellitibus iniecit amentiam*, also Aesch., *Eum.*, 847, 936.

69. Tr. Austin.
70. Cf. Livy, 39, 15, 3, quoted by Stübler, *Religiosität des Livius,* 191, n.57.
71. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae,* 60, on Dido's invocation of the *ultrices Dirae* which 'is indirectly also a prayer to Jupiter . . . in calling upon the Dirae she calls up the demons of healing vengeance, the instruments for restoring order.'
72. Cf. Heinze, *Technik,* 84.
73. Cf. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 72, in considerable agreement, if not in every detail.

Notes to Phase 3

1. Tr. Williams, except that he has 'with us', surely a slip.
2. Cf. above, p. 50.
3. Cf. Venus, 1.402f, Cupido, 1.710.
4. Cf. Euripides, *Bacchae,* 1259ff, 1269f, 1272, Agaue emerging from her madness.
5. Cf. Williams, *Comm.* on Book 5.678f: 'The goddess is thought of as taking possession in a physical sense of those whom she inspires. . . .' Cf. also Wlosok, *Venus,* 113, n.29, 'demonic infatuation' or 'Juno = possession'; Buchheit, *Sendung,* 108, n.439; cf. above, pp. 73ff.
6. Cf. 12.609, Conington, *ad loc.*
7. Cf. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 92.
8. Cf. Odysseus and Telemachus in the *Odyssey,* Thornton, *People and Themes,* 57, 68.
9. Cf. Büchner, 'Schicksalsgedanke', 295f.
10. Cf. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 93, where this aspect is fully developed.
11. Just as in Book 2 the wrath of Pallas Athene precedes the wrath *(inclementia)* of all the gods including Jupiter, so here Athene's prophet precedes Anchises, messenger of Jupiter.
12. Tr. Williams.
13. Williams, *ad loc.*
14. Cf. above, p. 59.
15. This sanction by Jupiter of a Trojan settlement in Sicily under Acestes, namely of Segesta, bears out what has already been foretold in the prodigy of Acestes' arrow bursting into flame (519ff and Williams, *Comm.* on Book 5, *ad loc.*). The prize which Aeneas then gave to Acestes, a mixing-bowl belonging to Anchises, is also enhanced in significance by the spirit of Anchises explicitly confirming the settlement.
16. Cf. above, pp. 73f.
17. Cf. above, p. 73.
18. Cf. Otis, *Virgil,* 292ff, 'Originality', 41.
19. Cf. Albrecht, 'Kunst der Spiegelung', 59f.

20. Cf. Otis, *Virgil,* 314ff.
21. Cf. above, pp. 13ff.
22. Xenophon, probably going back to Antisthenes, cynic philosopher and pupil of Socrates, represents Odysseus as avoiding through his temperance the fate of being changed into a beast by Circe's potion (Xenoph., *Memor.,* 1, 3, 7, cf. Pépin, *Allégorie,* 107). Dio Chrysostomus 8.20ff of the second century A.D. compares 'pleasure' which deceives men and casts a spell on them, with Circe who turns Odysseus' friends into beasts. Such 'pleasure' works through the senses, through food and drink, through love-making, both by day and in dreams by night (Pépin, above). In Virgil's day, Horace called Circe a whore and the man subjected to her 'stupid and greedy, dishonourable and witless', a 'dirty dog or muck-loving sow' *Epist.,* I, 2.24ff. Cf. Servius on line 19 calls Circe a whore and believes that 'she by her passionate desire and blandishments used to drag men down into the bestial life so that they gave themselves up to lust and pleasure; whence a place was given to the story.' This presumably means that Servius believed Virgil to have used the story of Circe here—apart from its local reference to the promontory of Circeii—on account of its allegorical meaning. Cf. also Segal, 'Circean Temptations', 431ff. I do not believe, however, that Circe 'foreshadows the violence, passion, and chthonic magic of Allecto' (p. 430). There is no evidence of Circe ever being associated with war or death in war. The danger which Dido meant for the Trojan cause is here referred to for the last time but in Book 6 removed from the name of Dido herself whose integrity is fully restored in her underworld meeting with Aeneas. More material on the allegory of Circe quoted by Segal, 425, n.13: Heraclitus, *Alleg., Homer.,* 70; Buffière, *Mythes d'Homère,* 237, 379, 500–20; for later allegories Stanford, *Ulysses,* 183ff, 187ff. Cf. also Buchheit, *Sendung,* 176, notes 11–13.
23. Knauer, 'Aeneid and Homer', 66: In Dido are united 'Arete, Alcinous, Circe, Calypso (and of course Medea)'.
24. Cf. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 71. Also, since King Latinus has promised to give Aeneas and his men land to settle and wealth (7.262), it cannot be maintained, as Nethercut, 'Invasion in the Aeneid', 82–95, does, that the Trojans are 'invading' Italy and in this way are comparable to the Greeks of the *Iliad* invading Troy. In view of the reply from Latinus, Aeneas sees himself as the one driven out of Italy (8.118, 147f) and the 'treaty' between Latinus and himself broken (540) once the war begins. Aeneas is not an 'invader', but a defender of a treaty.

Notes to Phase 4

1. Cf. Otis, *Virgil,* 322; Buchheit, *Sendung,* 71 and n.273.
2. For a detailed interpretation cf. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 71ff.
3. Cf. Otis, *Virgil,* 323.
4. Cf. above, pp. 38f.
5. Cf. Heinze, *Technik,* 268f.
6. Conington on 349 is not right when he believes that Virgil is here concerned with 'physical probability'.
7. Cf. Thornton, *Time, passim* and esp. Ch. on Virgil.
8. Cf. above, pp. 73f.
9. For *sine more* of a storm cf. 5.694 and of the rape of the Sabine women cf. 8.635; for *lymphata* of the mind of Satyrs and Silens on the coverlet cf. Catullus 64.254, of the mind of Cleopatra, cf. Horace, *Carm.* 1.37.14.
10. Cf. Dido 4.301.
11. Cf. Pöschl, *Dichtkunst,* 48, n.2.
12. Cf. 4.302 *Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieteria Baccho orgia,* there said of Dido.
13. It is also noteworthy that the two phases of 'possession' are distinguished by degrees of intensity and completeness rather than that the first phase implies resistance in the victim.
14. Cf. Steiner, *Traum,* 62ff.
15. Cf. Camps, *Introduction,* 147, n.11.
16. *Ira* is separate from and additional to *scelerata insania belli,* because *ira* does not necessarily imply anything evil; cf. Appendix A.
17. For the two stages in taking 'possession' cf. above, pp. 73f.
18. Friedrich, 'Exkurse', 142, quoting Ehlers, *R.E.*, s.v. Turnus; but cf. also Wirszubski, '*Audaces*', 12ff on the political aspect of the word *audax* which is to some extent relevant to the *audacia* of Turnus.
19. Cf. also *cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura,* 449.
20. When Otis, *Virgil,* 325, speaks of Virgil's skill 'in the way he depicts Allecto, as a motivator of *internal* feeling', I agree. But when he goes on to say 'or more exactly as an externalized image of such feeling' (cf. also 323 'key symbol of violence and *furor*'), this seems to me to be a modern psychological interpretation within a twentieth century world view which has no room for 'spirits'. Otis himself rejects such an interpretation of the Virgilian gods when he says, 'Originality' 51, 'there is no "projection" of the human on to the divine.' Perhaps he does not count Allecto as a goddess, but she surely is, even if a minor and very evil one. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 181 takes Virgil's lines on Allecto and Amata 'as a fanciful, poetical description of Amata's gathering madness, or we can take them at their face value, as

part of his fairy tale.' The second seems to me quite impossible. The first is the same 'modern, psychological' interpretation as found in Otis at times. It is not clear whether Fraenkel, 'Aeneid VII', 7 means the same kind of thing when he speaks of 'the figure of the infernal monster' as 'personifying the destructive force of that self-centred madness which in Virgil's opinion is the root of war'. How unmotivated Turnus' change of attitude is when Allecto is interpreted as a psychological projection of his own fury, is apparently realized by Quinn, although he does not draw any consequences from it. He says (182, n.1): 'How are we to explain this sudden reversal of attitude in Turnus from inactivity to belligerence without Allecto? Presumably Turnus had relied on justice and then on impulse decides to take justice into his own hands.' This is surely going beyond the text. The change in Turnus is only motivated if Allecto is a being or force *outside* Turnus.

21. Allecto takes possession of the dogs by injecting into them her own nature (N.B. *obiicit, coniicit,* 7.347 and 456.).
22. Fraenkel, 'Aeneid VII', 4f, is mistaken when he says that Allecto 'kindles a wild ambition in the heart of the young huntsman.'
23. Horace, *Carm.,* 3.24.54.
24. Fraenkel, 'Aeneid VII', 7, could not have noticed the reference to Book 8 when he says: 'The reason given by Juno for ridding herself of Allecto at that particular moment (552ff) is not very convincing. If the Fury could be allowed so long to roam over the surface of the earth, why has she to be stopped when she is just about to give the last touch to her performance? As to the sphere of her activities, no fundamental difference exists between what she has achieved so far and what she offers to do next.'
25. Fraenkel, 'Aeneid VII', 7, points out the inversion of the preceding scenes.
26. Cf. Liebing, *Aeneasgestalt,* 126, n.1; Buchheit, *Sendung,* 106, n.427.
27. Cf. Conington, *ad loc.*
28. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 92.
29. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 82 and n.317.
30. Macrobius, 1, 9, 17, cited by Fraenkel, 'Aeneid VII', 8.
31. Cf. Heinze, *Technik,* 444; Fraenkel, 'Aeneid VII', 11.
32. Cf. 8.7.
33. Small, 'Arms of Turnus', 243ff.
34. For this version of the story cf. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 114.
35. Cf. Virgil, *Georgics,* 3.152f.
36. Cf. above, pp. 88ff.

37. Cf. Onians, *European Thought,* 229f.
38. For the significance of the Tiber throughout the *Aeneid,* cf. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 177ff.
39. Cf. above, pp. 46ff.
40. Cf. Steiner, *Traum,* 69.
41. Cf. 6.123, 7.220, 8.301; cf. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 116ff.
42. Cf. Pöschl, 'Zeichen der Venus', *passim.*
43. Venus here act both as goddess of victory *(uictrix)* and as the 'mother' *(genetrix),* as Wlosok *Venus,* 139 and *passim,* points out.
44. Wlosok, *Venus,* 124, n.83.
45. Cf. Pöschl, 'Zeichen der Venus'; Wlosok, *Venus* 124ff.
46. Wlosok, *Venus,* 128ff.
47. Cf. Wlosok, *Venus,* on all this.
48. Cf. above, pp. 44ff.
49. Cf. above, p. 166.
50. Cf. Lesky, *Greek Literature,* 73 and n.1: *Od.* 4.712, 7.263, 9.339, 14.178, 16.356; *Il.* 6.438.
51. Cf. 8.578 *sin aliquem infandum casum, Fortuna, minaris . . . ;* cf. also Horace, *Carm.,* 1.34 end and 35.
52. For full interpretation cf. Appendix B.
53. Tr. D. Lewis.
54. Cf. 4.156ff, 7.477ff.
55. Note the contrast between *superbia* and *uirtus* decisive, of course, for the opposition of Turnus and Aeneas.
56. Let us note here that killing an arrogant enemy is a laudable deed, one that constitutes *uirtus* and leads to immortality.
57. The phrase *stimulos acres sub pectore uertit* 718 is close to 6.101 where Apollo drives the Sibyl: *stimulos sub pectore uertit.* Also the phrase *bellatorque animo deus incidit* 721, translated by Lewis as 'and the god of battle possesses them', literally means that 'the wargod falls into their spirit' which suggests that they were 'full of the god' in fighting, cf. above, pp. 73f.
58. The fact that these omens are not directly connected with Jupiter does not matter; Apollo's laurel with the bees and Faunus clearly express his will.
59. Cf. above, pp. 20f.
60. Pompey and Caesar in the underworld are called *concordes* 6.827, while in life they wage civil war against each other; cf. also 3.542 *concordia . . . frena,* combined with hope for peace and contrasted with the threat of war.
61. Kühn, *'Götterszenen,* 203f.
62. Cf. Wlosok, *Venus,* 108f.
63. Cicero, *De Fato,* 13, 30.
64. Cf. above. p. 54.

65. Cf. Servius on 608.
66. Cf. Homer, *Il.* 4.5f.
67. This instigation by Jupiter corresponds both in position in the structure and in significance to Juturna urging Turnus to take the place of Lausus (439). That turn of events is also unimportant until Turnus in demanding single combat takes the initiative which becomes decisive (cf. below pp. 128f.).
68. Fauth, 'Niedere Gottheiten', 59f.
69. Cf. Wlosok, *Venus,* 114; cf. above, p. 53.
70. According to Hübner, *Dirae,* 45, n.179, '*saevus* is the expression of an angry divinity (cf. 12.849).' Cf. also Kleinknech, 'Laokoon', 443, n.23, with full detail.
71. Cf. Otis, *Virgil,* 355ff, with whom I largely agree and Quinn, *Aeneid,* 221ff, who differs, among others. Cf. also Wilson, 'Action and Emotion', 73, who believes that we are meant to think of Turnus as a 'villain' and Aeneas as 'the exemplar of a gentleman', but finds this a 'heavy-handed contrast'. The contrast between 'villain' and 'gentleman' is perhaps overdone, but even if it is not, it is pointless to quarrel with the strongly moralistic perspective of the *Aeneid* in view of what seems to be part of Virgil's intention in writing a Homeric epic: moral education (cf. Pt. I, Ch. 1).
72. Cf. also 8.515ff.
73. Cf. also *mole sua stat* 771.
74. When anger rises up in Aeneas before he kills Lausus (813), this is the anger necessary for fighting and killing; cf. Appendix A.
75. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 223. The interpretation of 'moderation' by Büchner, 'Schicksalsgedanke', 287, as 'being almost identical with the recognition of the will of fate' seems to me too general and little related to the immediate context.
76. Cf. also Euryalus, 9.359ff; Heinze, *Technik,* 209, on the whole question of taking and wearing enemy spoils.
77. For a detailed interpretation cf. Binder, *Aeneas and Augustus,* 102ff.
78. For the dichotomy in interpretation cf. Wlosok, 'Neuere Forschung', 130ff; on Virgil's evaluation of 'rage' or 'fury' cf. Appendix A., esp. p. 161.
79. Cf. Conington, *ad loc.*
80. Cf. also 364, 463, 532.
81. Cf. also 472.
82. The 'clasp of the right hand' seems to be performed by word of mouth rather than by actual action.

83. Quinn, *Aeneid*, 224.
84. Otis, 'Originality', 63, loses sight of anything but the personal affection of the bond, in contrast to his more comprehensive understanding in his *Virgil*, 357.
85. Cicero, *De Off.*, I, 23.
86. Cf. also 11.126; cf. Pöschl, *Dichtkunst*, 113f.
87. 10.331, cf. Quinn, *Aeneid*, 228, n.1.
88. It is remarkable that Aeneas is called *pius* (10.591) in the midst of this slaughter, and the force of this word here must not be whittled away (cf. Quinn, *Aeneid*, 391). The comparison of Aeneas with Aegaeon, the giant who fought against Jupiter's lightning bolts (10.565ff) is a real difficulty. It could suggest that Aeneas' manner of fighting is hostile to Jupiter and therefore evil (cf. Little, 'Pessimism', 72 and 74). But this interpretation is impossible because of its contradiction with Jupiter's words in appraisal of Aeneas' fighting. The fact that Aegaeon being a giant opposes Jupiter in the 'Gigantomachy' may be merely a traditional feature, just as it is traditional when the eagle with which Turnus is compared is called *Iouis armiger*, 9.564 (cf. *ales Iouis*, 1.394, in an omen, referred to by Venus, and 12.247 in an omen sent by Juturna who acts for Juno and against Jupiter's will). Turnus is not, through this simile, represented as on Jupiter's side; Jupiter, in fact, becomes his enemy, as Turnus realizes (12.895). Nor is Aeneas, through the Aegaeon simile, represented as hateful to Jupiter; the simile expresses Aeneas' gigantic might as a fighter and has its counterpiece in the simile in which Mezentius is compared with huge Orion (10.763ff).
89. There is no 'sudden decision' here, 'taken because Aeneas cannot face Euander' (Quinn, *Aeneid*, 235). Aeneas cannot travel to Pallanteum. He must march to the attack of Latinus' city as he has told his men (11.17). His emotions do not now divert him from the path prescribed by Fate.
90. Cf. Buchheit, *Sendung*, 161f and 189.
91. Cf. Walsh, *Livy*, 98, 105.
92. For the significance of *deuotio* in the latter part of the *Aeneid* cf. Hübner, *Dirae*, 18, which is excellent; I received this book after I had written my own text. Cf. Conington on 440 who refers to Livy, 8.9; Wissowa, *R.E.*, V, cols. 277ff; Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience*, 207ff; Stübler *Religiosität*, Ch. 5, *passim* and esp. 189, n.51, where he discusses the *deuotio* of Turnus in *Aeneid* 12 with no clear result, as far as I can see.
93. Loeb, tr. E. Cary.
94. Livy, 8.9.9ff and 10.28.12ff (Loeb tr.).

95. Stübler, Religiostät, 175.
96. Stübler, *Religiosität,* 182, 184.
97. Cf. Williams, *ad loc.*
98. Cf. below, p. 156; Kleinknecht, 'Zorn', 390.

Notes to Phase 5

1. Cf. the two phases of 'possession' above p. 73. Also Grassmann-Fischer, *Prodigien,* 97.
2. Cf. Kleinknecht, 'Laokoon', 447, n.27: While the Rutulians believe this to be an *augurium* favourable to their wishes to renew the war, it is in fact a *prodigium,* an expression of the wrath of the gods and designed to hurl them into further disaster. Lelièvre, 'Supernatural Incidents', 75f, maintains that, according to the real meaning of the omen, Aeneas, the swan, is attacked by the eagle, Turnus, and saved by the host of birds coming to his aid, that is, all those fighting for him. He compares the bird omen of Venus in 1.393ff, where 12 swans escaping from an eagle represent the Trojan fleet. Tolumnius assuming the swan to be Turnus is deceived. The connection between the two omens is made also by Austin and Grassmann-Fischer, on 1.393ff *Prodigien,* 99, but without drawing the consequence drawn by Lelièvre.
3. The sequence of events corresponds exactly to the events in Book 5 when Iris sent by Juno rouses the women to burn the ships. Cf. above, p. 102.
4. Cf. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 260, n.1.
5. Cf. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 263.
6. Cf. Appendix A.
7. Cf. Otis, *Virgil,* 375f.
8. Aristotle, *Poet.,* 1454a 26ff.
9. Cf. the Arcadians 10.398 and Entellus 5.455.
10. Cf. above, p. 104.
11. Cf. above, p. 99 on Dido.
12. My tr.
13. Juturna had also used the *deuotio* of Turnus with politic distortion to save him from the threatened duel (12.234).
14. Mackail on 12.695 compares '*non simili poena commissa luetis* 1.136, *luant peccata* 10.32, *morte luet* 11.444, 849 *(merita), luere supplicium* 11.841 (cognate object)'. I do not understand why Mackail wants to make the meaning different in our passage; I do not think he does, as a matter of fact.
15. Cf. Buchheit, *Sendung,* 138ff, esp. 142.
16. Cf. above, p. 52.
17. Kleinknecht, 'Laokoon', 443, n.23 calls *saeuus* almost a term for divine wrath (cf. above on 11.901, p. 128 and n.70), and describes the Cruel Goddesses as 'the mythical embodiments,

as it were, of everything that has the nature of a prodigy, figures representative of the divine wrath'. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae*, 13ff, on this and on the whole Dira-passage.

18. My tr.
19. Cf. the arrow in the simile of the doe which foreshadows Dido's death 4.69ff. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae*, 19.
20. Cf. Williams, *Comm.* on Books 7–12, *ad loc.*, and Buchheit, *Sendung*, 142, n.605, take the bird to be an owl. Hübner, *Dirae*, 24–6, thinks that its exact nature is left open to make it more uncanny, and that it has features both of a big owl and of a raven, 32.
21. My tr.
22. My tr.
23. Kleinknecht, 'Laokoon', *passim* and esp. 448.
24. My tr.
25. On *deuotio* cf. above, p. 136ff; Hübner, *Dirae*, 33.
26. Loeb edition, tr. by B. O. Foster.
27. *E.G.* Claudius Quadrigarius, cf. Weissenborn, *Comm. ad loc.*
28. Cf. Pöschl, *Dichtkunst*, 234.
29. Cf. Appendix A, p. 161.
30. Cf. also v. Albrecht, 'Kunst der Spiengelung,' 61f.
31. Cf. Otis, *Virgil*, 378f; Hübner, *Dirae*, 18; v. Albrecht, 'Turnusgestalt', 4, speaks of 'the sphere of the sacral' here and of Aeneas as in some way acting as a 'priest'. (Cf. Wlosok, 'Vergilforschung', 150). The idea of applying the Aristotelian *hamartema* to Turnus seems justified only if *hamartema* means the same as *ate*, because only then can it include wrong action done under the spell of 'possession'.
32. Cf. Conington, *ad loc.*

Notes to Conclusion

1. Duckworth, 'Architecture', *passim.*
2. Duckworth, 'Trilogy', *passim.*
3. I do not find all of this convincing.
4. Heinze, *Technik*, 442, 436, 438, 441.
5. Otis, *Virgil*, 222f.
6. Buchheit, *Sendung*, 70.
7. Buchheit, *Sendung*, 22; for earlier literature on this matter cf. Buchheit, 12, n.7. Cf. also Boissier, *Religion*, 253, who argues, rather strangely, that Virgil is bound to accept gods and goddesses who are angry, 'puisque c'est la colère de Junon qui amène les principaux incidents de ce poëme.'
8. The correspondences drawn by Duckworth, 'Trilogy', 2, between Books 2 and 8 as the 'destruction of Troy' and the 'birth of Rome' and between Books 3 and 9 as 'interlude

of wandering' and 'interlude (at Trojan camp)' are not convincing.

9. Heinze, Technik, 436; cf. also Heinze 295 n.1 on the changes in Juno's attitude and actions.
10. Cf. above, p. 21.
11. Cf. Büchner, 'Schicksalsgedanke', 275f; cf. above, p. 83 and n.37.
12. Both Henry referred to by Conington on 1.32, and Buchheit, *Sendung,* 13 and n.10 (on 1.2), oppose 'the impulse of the fates and the repulse of Juno', as Conington puts it. He himself suggests that line 31f do not seem to support such an opposition. Nor is, I think, such an opposition intended in 1.2ff: *fato* comprises everything mentioned in this initial sentence, and under 'fate' are included both the 'power of the gods', which implies Jupiter, Venus, and others, and the anger of Juno in particular.
13. Cf. above, p. 78.
14. Tr. Williams, cf. Servius on *Ecl.,* 1.16 *per fulmen ira Jouis . . . figurabatur;* cf. Kleinknecht, 'Laokoon', 429; Hübner, *Dirae,* 17.
15. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae,* 6, n.21, referring to Lactantius *ira* 17, 12, who 'distinguishes between just and unjust anger. Just anger refers to divine anger, but is also demanded from a man exacting punishment (18, 12), while unjust anger belongs to affect, which does not create order but disorder.'
16. Cf. on all this Kleinknecht, 'Laokoon' and 'Zorn', 390.
17. I found the way to final clarity about this through W. J. Schröder's paper on 'Horizontale und vertikale Struktur', reference to which I owe to my daughter A. G. Thornton M.A. Cf. also the function of dreams in the *Aeneid* as a means of divine guidance, Steiner, *Traum, passim* and esp. 98. For a denigration of divine action in the *Aeneid* which is very common, cf. Büchner, 'Schicksalgedanke', 276; differently Schadewaldt, 'Sinn und Werden', 65.f
18. Otis, Originality', 62: Aeneas . . . 'had to *be* in some sense what he had all along been trained or groomed for by fate and Jupiter.' Cf. also Rist, *Stoic Philosophy,* 14: 'at least as early as Chrysippus, the Stoics held that the repetition of right actions tends towards the performance of right actions from the right motives. . . . By doing good deeds we become good.'
19. Cf. Pt. I, Ch. 1.
20. Cf. Pöschl, 'Zeichen der Venus', esp. 141. This seems to me the best description of Aeneas' character there is; Schadewaldt, 'Sinn und Werden', 67.
21. Büchner, 'Schicksalsgedanke', 298–300.

Notes to Appendix A

1. *Stoic. Vet. Frag.*, III, 395ff, cf. Pohlenz, *Führertum*, 52.
2. Pohlenz, *Führertum*, 45, n.2.
3. Also Cicero, *De Re Publica*, I.38.60, where *consilium* is opposed to the passions; cf. Horace, *Carm.* 3.4.65.
4. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae*, 35 and n.146.
5. Cf. Pohlenz, *Führertum*, 52 and n.3.
6. Cf. also 9.688, 10.263, 11.452, 12.314 and 527.
7. 3.215, 5.706, 8.40, 11.233 (cf. p. 138) and 443 (cf. p. 137f).
8. Cf. Hübner, *Dirae*, 9.
9. Cf. Lundström, 'Ein textkritisches Problem', 106 f, describes the meaning of *furere* as 'apart from "rage", "excitement" also a restless rushing to and fro within a certain place'. On 2.771 where he defends *furenti* over against *ruenti* he says that, on the one hand, Aeneas is almost mad and, on the other, that he moves restlessly to and fro.
10. Cf. above, pp. 160f.
11. Austin, *ad loc.*
12. Cf. Appendix B, p. 168, cf, also above, pp. 132f on Aeneas 'raging' after the death of Pallas.

Notes to Appendix B

1. Pease, *Comm.* on Aeneid IV, Introd. 6.
2. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile*, 667, quoted by Duckworth, 'Significance of Nisus and Euryalus', 129, not seen by me.
3. Quinn, *Aeneid*, 206; Boyle, 'Meaning of the Aeneid', 79.
4. Cf. above, p. 120; cf. Duckworth, 'Significance of Nisus and Euryalus', 134; Anderson, *Art*, 78, on 184f distinguishes between the 'wild human passion' for slaughter and spoils *(dira cupido)* and the 'god-inspired desire' *(ardor)* to contact Aeneas for the sake of the hard-pressed Trojans. Surely, Nisus would not make such a distinction at the very beginning of the undertaking.
5. *fama* 195, *honorem*, 206, *gloria*, 278; cf. Boyle, 'Meaning of the Aeneid', 79.
6. Duckworth, 'Significance of Nisus and Euryalus', 131. When Duckworth (133 top) says: 'Actually, it is Nisus who, realizing at last that there has been too much slaughter, stops Euryalus from attacking the companions of Messapus', he mistakenly infers that 'too much slaughter' has already taken place. But the text means that it is only threatening and is prevented by Nisus.
7. Cf. above, pp. 107 and n.24, 114, 117f, 132f.
8. Cf. Appendix A, p. 163.
9. Quinn, *Aeneid*, 205.

10. Conington, *ad loc.*
11. Mackail, *ad loc.*
12. Cf. *Il.* 10.360, where Diomedes and Odysseus pursuing Dolon are compared with hunting dogs which pursue a young deer or a hare through a wooded place.
13. Quinn, *Aeneid,* 206, cf. also 13.
14. Duckworth, 'Significance of Nisus and Euryalus', 134.
15. Otis, *Virgil,* 350, 349.
16. Otis, *Virgil,* 388.
17. Heinze, *Technik,* 154.
18. Heinze, *Technik,* 219 n.1.
19. Heinze, Technik, 219, note 1: for *amicitia* as both a tie of political and business alliance and a bond of personal intimacy, cf. Brunt, 'Amicitia', *passim.* I owe this reference to Prof. R. G. Mulgan, Otago University.
20. Page, *ad loc.*
21. Cf. also Richardson, 'In Defense of Nisus', *Hermathena* 51, 1938, 140, n.2, quoted by Duckworth, 'Significance of Nisus and Euryalus', 129, n.7; not seen by me.
22. Cicero, *De Amicitia,* 15; cf. also 20, *est amicitia . . . consensio;* cf. also *Pro Plancio,* 5.
23. These passages are quoted by Meister, 'Die Freundschaft', 326ff.
24. Duckworth, 'Significance of Nisus and Euryalus', 149.
25. Otis, *Virgil,* 350.

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